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MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

PHILIPPIC ORATIONS

I, II, III, V, VII

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I, II, III, V, VII

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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PART I.—TEXT AND INTRODUCTION

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PREFACE

The present volume contains the more important of the Philippic Orations of Cicero, setting before us his line of policy from the death of Caesar to the early part of February 43 B.C., during which time Cicero was the acknowledged leader of the constitutional party in the Senate. These orations are of especial value, not only as bringing out most strongly Cicero's power as an orator, and his importance in the State during the most honourable portion of his life, but also as illustrating a period of history concerning which we have but little contemporary information.

The notes and introductions are taken almost entirely from the same Editor's larger edition of the whole series of orations against Antony. The text is in the main that of Halm, in the second edition of Orelli's text. In some places, which have been noted, the reading of the Vatican Codex, the most important MS. of these orations, has been restored.

Oxford,
August, 1898.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF CICERO

B. C.

106. Birth of Cicero at Arpinum. Jan. 3.
91. Cicero assumed the 'toga virilis.'
81. Cicero delivered his first oration, *pro P. Quinctio.*
79. Cicero went to study philosophy and rhetoric at Athens.
77. Cicero married Terentia.
75. Quaestorship in Sicily.
70. Action against Gaius Verres.
69. Aedileship.
66. Praetorship. Speech *de Imperio Cn. Pompeii.*
64. Marriage of Tullia to C. Calpurnius Piso.
63. Consulship of Cicero. Catiline conspiracy.
58. Cicero went into exile.
57. His recall from exile.
56. Second marrige of Tullia, to Furius Crassipes.
53. Cicero was elected augur.
51. Cicero went to Cilicia as proconsul.
50. *Supplicatio* in honour of Cicero. Tullia's third marriage to P. Cornelius Dolabella.
49. Cicero returned to Rome, but retired to Athens when Caesar crossed the Rubicon.
47. Cicero was reconciled to Caesar, and returned to Rome.
46. Marriage of Cicero to Publilia, and their divorce. Death of Tullia.
44. Death of Caesar. Cicero delivered the first, third, and fourth Philippic Orations, and published the second.
43. The remaining Philippic Orations. Cicero was murdered at Formiae, Dec. 7.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PHILIPPIC ORATIONS OF M. TULLIUS CICERO

INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST ORATION.

To understand the bearing of the Philippic orations of Cicero, it is necessary shortly to review the course of events at Rome, consequent on the assassination of Julius Caesar, March 15th, 44 B.C. On the evening of the same day, finding it impossible to gain the confidence or the sympathy of the mass of the citizens, the conspirators, at the instigation of Decimus Brutus, repaired to the Capitol, where they were joined by Cicero and other nobles; while Lepidus, the Master of the Horse, occupied the Forum with an armed force, and sent an assurance of support to Antony. In the meantime the body of Caesar was carried home, and something like quiet was restored. During the ensuing night Antony opened negotiations with Lepidus, securing his support by the promise of the vacant office of pontifex maximus: while his own position was strengthened by his receiving from Calpurnia, Caesar's widow, all the dictator's private papers, and treasure to the amount of 4000 talents.

The next day the liberators, encouraged by the avowed support of Dolabella, who claimed the consulship which Caesar's

death left vacant, and to which he had been already nominated as his successor, resolved again to appeal to the people, and made M. Brutus their spokesman. He was coldly received, and they were obliged to return to the Capitol, while Antony took the opportunity of seizing the public treasure in the temple of Ops, amounting to seven hundred millions of sesterces (somewhat more than 6,000,000*l.*). The next day (March 17), on the invitation of the conspirators, he summoned the senate to meet in the temple of Tellus, near his own house in the Carinae. To add to his security he filled the Forum with troops, an excuse for the precaution being afforded by the violence which the mob had offered to the praetor, Cornelius Cinna, when he appeared among them in his official robes. The result of a very stormy debate was a resolution that no investigation should be made into Caesar's murder; but that all the ordinances and arrangements which he had made, 'acta Caesaris,' should be ratified. This policy was supported by Cicero, as a necessary compromise, and was acquiesced in by the liberators, though it was manifest that it left the whole power in the hands of Antony. A public funeral was further decreed to Caesar, on the motion of his father-in-law, L. Calpurnius Piso. These measures were confirmed by the people, assembled in the Forum; and the conspirators were invited to come down from the Capitol, Antony sending his own son as a hostage for their security. On the following day another meeting of the senate was held, and the distribution of the provinces, as arranged by Caesar, was again confirmed. By this assignment M. Brutus received Macedonia, and C. Cassius Syria, though they could not properly enter into possession of them till the expiration of their office of praetor. Decimus Brutus succeeded to Cisalpine Gaul, Cimber to Bithynia, and Trebonius to Asia.

The next event was the funeral of Caesar, which Antony artfully employed as a means of stirring up the fury of the people against his murderers. Entitled by his position as Consul to pronounce the funeral oration over his colleague, as the body lay in the Forum, previously to its being carried to the pyre prepared for it in the Campus Martius, he roused

their feelings by recounting the honours of the dictator, which were reflected on the whole Roman people, and the violated oath whereby his murderers had sworn to defend him. Excited to frenzy by his speech, and yet more by hearing the tenour of Caesar's will, and his munificent bequests to the Roman people, the crowd refused to allow the body to be removed outside the city walls, and burned it on a hastily raised pyre in the midst of the Forum itself. The excitement rapidly spread. The houses of the liberators were attacked; Helvius Cinna, an adherent of Caesar, was torn in pieces in mistake for the praetor L. Cornelius Cinna, and the tumult did not cease till the people were convinced that the principal conspirators had fled, and were for the present beyond their reach.

The advantage which Antony had gained by the course of events at Caesar's funeral he further secured by the moderation of his subsequent conduct. He did not attempt to extend the amnesty to any of the political exiles, with the single exception of Sextus Clodius, a client and chief agent of the notorious Publius Clodius, whose widow Fulvia Antony had married as his third wife. He declared that no exemptions from tribute had been granted to any cities. He consented to the proposal of Sulpicius that no further 'acts' of Caesar should be ratified. His popularity culminated when he proposed that the office of dictator should be abolished for ever. In the beginning of April he did good service to the state by crushing a disturbance raised by one Herophilus, who pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and whom he put to death without a trial (1. 2, 5). Emboldened by his success, he began to make unscrupulous use of Caesar's papers, urging the pleasure of the dictator for every measure or appointment which might suit his purpose, and not hesitating to forge supposititious memoranda, when no convenient documents could be found among the genuine 'acta Caesaris.' In addition to the favour which he thus acquired, both among citizens and provinces on whom he conferred benefits, he presently added to his personal security by the usual tyrant's resource of a body-guard of 6000 soldiers, which the senate were persuaded to allow him, and he sought for popularity

among the veterans by a new assignment of lands to them in Campania, whither he himself proceeded to superintend in person the execution of his measure.

Dolabella took this opportunity of thwarting the policy of Antony in the city; overthrowing all the memorials of Caesar which existed within its walls, even the altar raised in his honour in the Forum, and the marble pillar which marked the place of his tumultuous funeral. He repressed every popular demonstration of the Caesarian party, and aided the cause of the patriots in a manner that called forth the warmest eulogies from Cicero himself (Att. 14. 15, 2).

At this crisis Octavius appeared upon the scene. He had received the news of his great-uncle's murder in Epirus, where he was completing his military education in the camp at Apollonia. Urged by his mother Atia to return to Rome at once, he crossed the sea without delay, and landing near Lupiae in Calabria, he remained there till the receipt of a copy of Caesar's will emboldened him to advance to Brundisium, and present himself to the garrison in that place as C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus, the dictator's adopted son. He was warmly received by the veterans, and encouraged to send a formal notification of his claims to the senate and the leaders of the two parties. Following this up by a cautious advance towards Rome, at Naples he met Cicero, who gladly welcomed a new rival to Antony. About the beginning of May he entered Rome, where he had already made a favourable impression by undertaking the expense of certain shows exhibited in honour of Caesar at the festival of the Parilia, on the 21st of April. This impression he confirmed by paying assiduous court to the individual senators, and by undertaking to pay the bequests of Caesar to the people. Antony was absent from Rome, but hearing of Octavius' growing popularity, he hastened back to the city, and about the middle of the month he had an interview with Octavius, in which the latter claimed the money of the dictator which Antony had appropriated. Antony refused to refund it, on the ground that it was public treasure, when Octavius took upon himself the payment of the legacies, as well as the

exhibition of shows at the dedication of the temple which Caesar had built in honour of Venus Genitrix.

Meanwhile M. Brutus and Cassius had retired from the city to Lanuvium, probably at the time of the disturbances caused by the Pseudo-Marius. Decimus Brutus, in defiance of the Consul, assumed the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and Trebonius and Cimber took possession of their respective provinces of Asia and Bithynia. In the absence of the liberator, Antony persuaded the senate to alter the distribution of the provinces, so far as to transfer Syria and Macedonia from Cassius and Brutus to Dolabella and himself. In compensation they were offered the privilege of supplying the city with corn from Sicily and Asia. This they were unwilling to accept, and made the necessity of preparing for it an excuse for lingering in Italy, till they had made one more unsuccessful attempt to conciliate popular favour by the magnificence of the 'Ludi Apollinares,' exhibited at the expense of Brutus as city praetor. The failure of this effort induced them at length to abandon hopes of remaining longer in Italy, and Cicero, feeling that the prospects of the republican party were for the present crushed, and that he himself was not wholly free from danger, determined to avail himself of a 'legatio' which Dolabella had given him, and to go to Greece till the beginning of the next year, when he hoped for more success under the administration of the new Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa. He spent a single day among his friends in Sicily, and thence set sail for Greece on the 2nd of August, but was driven back to Leucopetra, whither tidings were brought him that a change had come over the face of affairs; that the senate had been summoned for the 1st of August; and that rumours were rife that Brutus and Cassius were likely to come to an understanding with Antony. This news changed his plans once more; he resolved to go at once to Rome, and was not even deterred by an interview with Brutus at Velia, in which he learned the defeat of the republican party in the meeting of the 1st of August from which they had hoped so much. He entered Rome on the 31st of August, and found that Antony had summoned the senate for the following day.

Cicero, after some hesitation, resolved not to attend, pleading fatigue and sickness to the Consuls, while to his friends he urged the impossibility of his appearing as a witness of the honours which were to be proposed to Caesar. His real reason appears to have been an unwillingness to take the initiative in the contest between himself and Antony which was now inevitable. In his absence the Consul uttered the most violent invective against him, upbraiding him with cowardice in staying away, and even threatening the demolition of his house. He then retired to his villa at Tibur; but Dolabella summoned the senate to meet on the following day in the temple of Concord, when Cicero delivered his first Philippic oration against Antony. The tone of it is moderate, compared with that of those which follow. He seems unwilling to close every door of peace between himself and his antagonist; and though he attacks his public policy unsparingly, he abstains as yet from any personal abuse, such as is conspicuous in all the rest of these orations.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

M. ANTONIUM

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM LIBRI SELECTI

LIBER PRIMUS.

1 Ante quam de re publica, patres conscripti, dicam ea,
1 quae dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter
consilium et profectionis et reversionis meae. Ego cum
sperarem aliquando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque
rem publicam esse revocatam, manendum mihi statuebam
quasi in vigilia quadam consulari ac senatoria. Nec vero
usquam discedebam nec a re publica deiiciebam oculos ex
eo die, quo in aedem Telluris convocati sumus. In quo
templo, quantum in me fuit, ieci fundamenta pacis Athenien-
siumque renovavi vetus exemplum; Graecum etiam verbum
usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa,
atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna
2 delendam censui. Praeclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia
etiam voluntas; pax denique per eum et per liberos eius
cum praestantissimis civibus confirmata est. Atque his
principiis reliqua consentiebant. Ad deliberationes eas, quas
habebat domi de re publica, principes civitatis adhibebat;

ad hunc ordinem res optimas deferebat; nihil tum, nisi quod
erat notum omnibus, in C. Caesaris commentariis reperiebatur,
summa constantia ad ea quae quaesita erant, respondebat.
Num qui exsules restituti? Unum aiebat, praeterea neminem. 3
Num immunitates datae? Nullae, respondebat. Assentiri
etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua tabula
post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut beneficii
figeretur. Multa praetereo eaque praeclara; ad singulare
enim M. Antonii factum festinat oratio. Dictaturam, quae
iam vim regiae potestatis obsederat, funditus ex re publica
sustulit, de qua ne sententias quidem diximus; scriptum
senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit, quo recitato
auctoritatem eius summo studio secuti sumus eique
amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum gratias egimus.
Lux quaedam videbatur oblata, non modo regno, quod **2**
pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato; magnumque 4
pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem esse
velle, cum dictatoris nomen, quod saepe iustum fuisset,
propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus
ex re publica sustulisset. Liberatus periculo caedis paucis 5
post diebus senatus; uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui in
Marii nomen invaserat. Atque haec omnia communiter cum
collega: alia porro propria Dolabellae, quae, nisi collega
afuisset, credo iis futura fuisse communia. Nam cum
serperet in urbem infinitum malum idque manaret in dies
latius, idemque bustum in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam
sepulturam effecerant, et quotidie magis magisque perditi
homines cum sui similibus servis tectis ac templis urbis
minitarentur, talis animadversio fuit Dolabellae cum in
audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros et nefarios
liberos, talisque eversio illius exsecratae columnae, ut mihi
mirum videatur tam valde reliquum tempus ab illo uno die
dissensisse. Ecce enim Kalendis Iuniis, quibus ut adessemus 6

edixerant, mutata omnia: nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum, et absente populo et invito. Consules designati negabant se audere in senatum venire; patriae liberatores urbe carebant ea, cuius a cervicibus iugum servile deiecerant, quos tamen ipsi consules in contionibus et in omni sermone laudabant; veterani qui appellabantur, quibus hic ordo diligentissime caverat, non ad conservationem earum rerum, quas habebant, sed ad spem novarum praedarum incitabantur. Quae cum audire mallem quam videre, haberemque ius legationis liberum, ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Ianuariis, quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbatur.

3 Exposui, patres conscripti, profectionis consilium: nunc
7 reversionis, quae plus admirationis habet, breviter exponam. Cum Brundisium iterque illud, quod tritum in Graeciam est, non sine causa vitavissem, Kalendis Sextilibus veni Syracusas, quod ab ea urbe transmissio in Graeciam laudabatur: quae tamen urbs mihi coniunctissima plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Cum autem me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Regini venti detulissent, ab eo loco conscendi ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus reiectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum, unde con-
8 scenderam. Cumque intempesta nox esset mansissemque in villa P. Valerii, comitis et familiaris mei, postridieque apud eundem ventum exspectans manerem, municipes Regini complures ad me venerunt, ex iis quidam Roma recentes: a quibus primum accipio M. Antonii contionem, quae mihi ita placuit, ut ea lecta de reversione primum coeperim cogitare. Nec ita multo post edictum Bruti affertur et Cassii, quod quidem mihi, fortasse quod eos plus etiam rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia diligo, plenum aequitatis videbatur. Addebant praeterea—fit enim plerumque ut ii, qui boni quid

volunt afferre, affingant aliquid, quo faciant id quod nuntiant laetius—rem conventuram; Kalendis senatum frequentem fore; Antonium, repudiatis malis suasoribus, remissis provinciis Galliis, ad auctoritatem senatus esse rediturum. Tum **4**
vero tanta sum cupiditate incensus ad reditum, ut mihi nulli 9
neque remi neque venti satis facerent, non quo me ad tempus occursurum non putarem, sed ne tardius quam cuperem rei publicae gratularer. Atque ego celeriter Veliam devectus Brutum vidi: quanto meo dolore, non dico. Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem me audere reverti, ex qua Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset. Neque vero illum similiter atque ipse eram commotum esse vidi: erectus enim maximi ac pulcherrimi facti sui conscientia nihil de suo casu, multa de vestro querebatur. Exque eo 10
primum cognovi quae Kalendis Sextilibus in senatu fuisset L. Pisonis oratio: qui quamquam parum erat—id enim ipsum a Bruto audieram—a quibus debuerat adiutus, tamen et Bruti testimonio—quo quid potest esse gravius?—et omnium praedicatione, quos postea vidi, magnam mihi videbatur gloriam consecutus. Hunc igitur ut sequerer properavi, quem praesentes non sunt secuti, non ut proficerem aliquid — nec enim sperabam id nec praestare poteram,—sed ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset—multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum,—huius tamen diei vocem testem rei publicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se voluntatis.

Quoniam utriusque consilii causam, patres conscripti, pro- 11
batam vobis esse confido, prius quam de re publica dicere incipio, pauca querar de hesterna M. Antonii iniuria: cui sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio debere esse prae me semper tuli. Quid tandem erat causae cur in senatum **5**
hesterno die tam acerbe cogerer? Solusne aberam? an non saepe minus frequentes fuistis? an ea res agebatur, ut etiam

aegrotos deferri oporteret? Hannibal, credo, erat ad portas,
aut de Pyrrhi pace agebatur, ad quam causam etiam Appium
illum, et caecum et senem, delatum esse memoriae proditum
12 est. De supplicationibus referebatur, quo in genere senatores
deesse non solent. Coguntur enim non pignoribus, sed eorum,
de quorum honore agitur, gratia; quod idem fit, cum de
triumpho refertur. Ita sine cura consules sunt, ut paene
liberum sit senatori non adesse. Qui cum mihi mos notus
esset cumque e via languerem et mihimet displicerem, misi
pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret. At ille vobis audientibus
cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit. Nimis
iracunde hoc quidem et valde intemperanter. Cuius enim
maleficii tanta ista poena est, ut dicere in hoc ordine auderet
se publicis operis disturbaturum publice ex senatus sententia
aedificatam domum? Quis autem umquam tanto damno
senatorem coëgit? aut quid est ultra pignus aut multam?
Quod si scisset quam sententiam dicturus essem, remisisset
6 aliquid profecto de severitate cogendi. An me censetis, patres
13 conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut
parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur? ut inexpiabiles
religiones in rem publicam inducerentur? ut decernerentur
supplicationes mortuo? Nihil dico cui. Fuerit ille Brutus,
qui et ipse dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad
similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem iam prope in
quingentesimum annum propagavit: adduci tamen non
possem, ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulchrum usquam exstet ubi
parentetur, ei publice supplicetur. Ego vero eam sententiam
dixissem, ut me adversus populum Romanum, si qui accidisset gravior rei publicae casus, si bellum, si morbus, si
fames, facile possem defendere: quae partim iam sunt, partim
timeo ne impendeant. Sed hoc ignoscant di immortales
velim et populo Romano, qui id non probat, et huic ordini,

qui decrevit invitus. Quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere? Mihi vero licet et semper licebit dignitatem 14 tueri, mortem contemnere. Potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit: dicendi periculum non recuso. Atque utinam, patres conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus adesse potuissem! non quo profici potuerit aliquid, sed ne unus modo consularis, quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore, dignus re publica inveniretur. Qua quidem ex re magnum accipio dolorem, homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos L. Pisonem ducem optimae sententiae non secutos. Idcircone nos populus Romanus consules fecit, ut in altissimo gradu dignitatis locati rem publicam pro nihilo haberemus? Non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consularis, sed ne vultu quidem assensus est. Quae, malum! est ista voluntaria servitus? Fuerit quaedam 15 necessaria: neque ego hoc ab omnibus iis desidero, qui sententiam consulari loco dicunt. Alia causa est eorum, quorum silentio ignosco, alia eorum, quorum vocem requiro. Quos quidem doleo in suspicionem populo Romano venire non modo metus, quod ipsum esset turpe, sed alium alia de causa deesse dignitati suae. Quare primum maximas gratias **7** et ago et habeo Pisoni, qui non quid efficere posset in re publica cogitavit, sed quid facere ipse deberet: deinde a vobis, patres conscripti, peto ut, etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem meam, benigne me tamen, ut adhuc fecistis, audiatis.

Primum igitur acta Caesaris servanda censeo, non quo pro- 16 bem—quis enim id quidem potest?—sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque otii. Vellem adesset M. Antonius, modo sine advocatis—sed, ut opinor, licet ei minus valere, quod mihi heri per illum non licuit:—doceret me vel potius vos, patres conscripti, quem ad modum ipse Caesaris acta defenderet. An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore prolatis, ne prolatis quidem, sed tantum

modo dictis, acta Caesaris firma erunt: quae ille in aes incidit,
in quo populi iussa perpetuasque leges esse voluit, pro nihilo
17 habebuntur? Equidem existimo nihil tam esse in actis Caesaris
quam leges Caesaris. An, si cui quid ille promisit, id erit
fixum, quod idem non facere potuit? ut multis multa promissa
non fecit: quae tamen multo plura illo mortuo reperta sunt,
quam a vivo beneficia per omnes annos tributa et data. Sed
ea non muto, non moveo: summo studio illius praeclara acta
defendo. Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa
quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non
redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita
18 in actis fuit. Ecquid est quod tam proprie dici possit actum
eius, qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque ver-
satus sit, quam lex? Quaere acta Gracchi; leges Semproniae
proferentur: quaere Sullae; Corneliae. Quid? Pompei tertius
consulatus in quibus actis constitit? nempe in legibus. De
Caesare ipso si quaereres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga,
leges multas responderet se et praeclaras tulisse, chirographa
vero aut mutaret aut non daret, aut, si dedisset, non istas res
in actis suis duceret. Sed haec ipsa concedo, quibusdam
etiam in rebus conniveo; in maximis vero rebus, id est legi-
8 bus, acta Caesaris dissolvi ferendum non puto. Quae lex
19 melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica saepius flagitata, quam
ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam
biennium consulares obtinerentur? Hac lege sublata viden-
turne vobis posse Caesaris acta servari? Quid? lege, quae
promulgata est de tertia decuria nonne omnes iudiciariae leges
Caesaris dissolvuntur? Et vos acta Caesaris defenditis, qui
leges eius evertitis? nisi forte, si quid memoriae causa rettulit
in libellum, id numerabitur in actis et, quamvis iniquum et
inutile sit, defendetur: quod ad populum centuriatis comitiis
20 tulit, id in actis Caesaris non habebitur. At quae ista tertia
decuria?—Centurionum inquit.—Quid? isti ordini iudicatus

lege Iulia, etiam ante Pompeia, Aurelia non patebat?—Census praefiniebatur, inquit.—Non centurioni quidem solum, sed equiti etiam Romano: itaque viri fortissimi atque honestissimi, qui ordines duxerunt, res et iudicant et iudicaverunt.—Non quaero, inquit, istos: quicumque ordinem duxit iudicet.—At si ferretis, quicumque equo meruisset, quod est lautius, nemini probaretis; in iudice enim spectari et fortuna debet et dignitas.—Non quaero, inquit, ista: addo etiam iudices manipulares ex legione Alaudarum; aliter enim nostri negant posse se salvos esse.—O contumeliosum honorem iis, quos ad iudicandum nec opinantes vocatis! hic enim est legis index, ut ii res in tertia decuria iudicent, qui libere iudicare non audeant. In quo quantus error est, di immortales! eorum, qui istam legem excogitaverunt! Ut enim quisque sordidissimus videbitur, ita libentissime severitate iudicandi sordes suas eluet laborabitque ut honestis decuriis potius dignus videatur quam in turpem iure coniectus. Altera pro- **9**
mulgata lex est, ut et de vi et maiestatis damnati ad populum **21**
provocent, si velint. Haec utrum tandem lex est an legum omnium dissolutio? Quis est enim hodie, cuius intersit istam legem † manere? Nemo reus est legibus illis, nemo, quem futurum putemus; armis enim gesta numquam profecto in iudicium vocabuntur. At res popularis. Utinam quidem aliquid velletis esse populare! omnes enim iam cives de rei publicae salute una et mente et voce consentiunt. Quae est igitur ista cupiditas legis eius ferendae, quae turpitudinem summam habeat, gratiam nullam? Quid enim turpius quam qui maiestatem populi Romani minuerit per vim, eum damnatum iudicio ad eam ipsam vim reverti, propter quam sit iure damnatus? Sed quid plura de lege disputo? quasi vero id agatur **22**
ut quisquam provocet: id agitur, id fertur, ne quis omnino umquam istis legibus reus fiat. Quis enim aut accusator tam amens reperietur, qui reo condemnato obiicere se multitudini

conductae velit, aut iudex, qui reum damnare audeat, ut ipse ad operas mercenarias statim protrahatur? Non igitur provocatio ista lege datur, sed duae maxime salutares leges quaestionesque tolluntur. Quid est aliud hortari adolescentes, ut turbulenti, ut seditiosi, ut perniciosi cives velint esse? Quam autem ad pestem furor tribunicius impelli non poterit his duabus quaestionibus de vi et maiestatis sublatis?
23 Quid, quod obrogatur legibus Caesaris, quae iubent ei, qui de vi, itemque ei, qui maiestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur? Quae quidem ego, patres conscripti, qui illa numquam probavi, tamen ita conservanda concordiae causa arbitratus sum, ut non modo, quas vivus leges Caesar tulisset, infirmandas hoc tempore non putarem, sed ne illas quidem,
10 quas post mortem Caesaris prolatas esse et fixas videtis. De
24 exsilio reducti a mortuo, civitas data non solum singulis, sed nationibus et provinciis universis a mortuo, immunitatibus infinitis sublata vectigalia a mortuo. Ergo haec uno, verum optimo auctore domo prolata defendimus: eas leges, quas ipse nobis inspectantibus recitavit, pronuntiavit, tulit, quibus latis gloriabatur, eisque legibus rem publicam contineri putabat, de provinciis, de iudiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris leges
25 nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris, evertendas putamus? Ac de his tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem queri possumus: de iis, quae iam latae dicuntur, ne illud quidem licuit; illae enim sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae. Quaero autem, quid sit cur aut ego aut quisquam vestrum, patres conscripti, bonis tribunis plebi leges malas metuat. Paratos habemus qui intercedant, paratos qui rem publicam religione defendant; vacui metu esse debemus. —Quas tu mihi, inquit, intercessiones? quas religiones?— Eas scilicet, quibus rei publicae salus continetur.—Negligimus ista et nimis antiqua ac stulta ducimus; forum saepietur,

omnes claudentur aditus, armati in praesidiis multis locis collocabuntur.—Quid tum? Quod ita erit gestum, id lex 26 erit? et in aes incidi iubebitis, credo, illa legitima: 'consules populum iure rogaverunt'—hocine a maioribus accepimus ius rogandi?—'populusque iure scivit.' Qui populus? isne, qui exclusus est? Quo iure? an eo, quod vi et armis omne sublatum est? Atque haec dico de futuris; quod est amicorum ante dicere ea, quae vitari possint: quae si facta non erunt, refelletur oratio mea. Loquor de legibus promulgatis, de quibus est integrum vobis: demonstro vitia; tollite! denuntio vim, arma; removete!

Irasci quidem vos mihi, Dolabella, pro re publica dicenti **11** non oportebit. Quamquam te quidem id facturum non ar- 27 bitror—novi facilitatem tuam—: collegam tuum aiunt in hac sua fortuna, quae bona ipsi videtur—mihi, ne gravius quippiam dicam, avorum et avunculi sui consulatum si imitaretur, fortunatior videretur—: sed eum iracundum audio esse factum. Video autem quam sit odiosum habere eundem iratum et armatum, cum tanta praesertim gladiorum sit impunitas: sed proponam ius, ut opinor, aequum, quod M. Antonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in vitam eius aut in mores cum contumelia dixero, quo minus mihi inimicissimus sit, non recusabo: sin consuetudinem meam tenuero, id est, si libere quae sentiam de re publica dixero, primum deprecor ne irascatur, deinde, si hoc non impetro, peto ut sic irascatur ut civi. Armis utatur, si ita necesse est, ut dicit, sui defendendi causa: iis, qui pro re publica quae ipsis visa erunt dixerint, ista arma ne noceant. Quid hac postulatione dici potest aequius? Quod si, ut mihi a quibusdam eius familiari- 28 bus dictum est, omnis eum quae habetur contra voluntatem eius oratio graviter offendit, etiam si nulla inest contumelia, feremus amici naturam. Sed idem illi ita mecum locuntur: 'non idem tibi, adversario Caesaris, licebit, quod Pisoni

socero,' et simul admonent quiddam, quod cavebimus: nec
erit iustior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis.
12 Sed per deos immortales!—te enim intuens, Dolabella, [qui
29 es mihi carissimus,] non possum utriusque vestrum errorem
reticere—: credo enim vos, nobiles homines, magna quaedam
spectantes, non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis creduli suspicantur,
quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta
est, non opes violentas et populo Romano minime ferendam
potentiam, sed caritatem civium et gloriam concupivisse.
Est autem gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in
rem publicam meritorum, quae cum optimi cuiusque, tum
30 etiam multitudinis testimonio comprobatur. Dicerem, Dola-
bella, qui recte factorum fructus esset, nisi te praeter ceteros
paulisper esse expertum viderem. Quem potes recordari
in vita illuxisse tibi diem laetiorem quam cum expiato foro,
dissipato concursu impiorum, principibus sceleris poena
affectis, te domum recepisti? Cuius ordinis, cuius generis,
cuius denique fortunae studia tum laudi et gratulationi tuae
se non obtulerunt? Quin mihi etiam, quo auctore te in
his rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni viri agebant et tuo
nomine gratulabantur. Recordare, quaeso, Dolabella, consen-
sum illum theatri, cum omnes earum rerum obliti, propter
quas fuerant tibi offensi, significarent se beneficio novo me-
31 moriam veteris doloris abiecisse. Hanc tu, P. Dolabella,—
magno loquor cum dolore,—hanc tu, inquam, potuisti aequo
13 animo tantam dignitatem deponere? Tu autem, M. Antoni,—
absentem enim appello,—unum illum diem, quo in aede Tel-
luris senatus fuit, non omnibus his mensibus, quibus te qui-
dam multum a me dissentientes beatum putant, anteponis?
Quae fuit oratio de concordia! quanto metu veterani quanta
sollicitudine civitas tum a te liberata est, cum collegam tuum
depositis inimicitiis, oblitus auspiciorum a te ipso augure
populi Romani nuntiatorum, illo primum die collegam tibi esse

voluisti, tuus parvus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis
obses fuit. Quo senatus die laetior? quo populus Romanus? 32
qui quidem nulla in contione umquam frequentior fuit. Tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax consequebatur. Proximo, altero, tertio, denique reliquis consecutis diebus non intermittebas quasi donum aliquod quotidie afferre rei publicae, maximum autem illud, quod dictaturae nomen sustulisti. Haec inusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Caesari nota ad ignominiam sempit-ernam. Ut enim propter unius M. Manlii scelus decreto gentis Manliae neminem patricium Manlium Marcum vocari licet, sic tu propter unius dictatoris odium nomen dictatoris
funditus sustulisti. Num te, cum haec pro salute rei publicae 33
tanta gessisses, fortunae tuae, num amplitudinis, num claritatis, num gloriae, poenitebat? Unde igitur subito tanta ista mutatio? Non possum adduci ut suspicer te pecunia captum: licet quod cuique libet loquatur, credere non est necesse; nihil enim umquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi. Quamquam solent domestici depravare non numquam, sed novi firmitatem tuam. Atque utinam ut culpam, sic etiam
suspicionem vitare potuisses! Illud magis vereor, ne ignor- **14**
ans verum iter gloriae gloriosum putes plus te unum posse quam omnes et metui a civibus tuis. Quod si ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriae. Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est: metui vero et in odio esse invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, ca-
ducum. Quod videmus etiam in fabula illi ipsi, qui 'oderint, 34
dum metuant' dixerit, perniciosum fuisse. Utinam, M. Antoni, avum tuum meminisses! de quo tamen audisti multa ex me eaque saepissime. Putasne illum immortalitatem mereri voluisse, ut propter armorum habendorum licentiam metueretur? Illa erat vita, illa secunda fortuna, libertate esse parem ceteris, principem dignitate. Itaque, ut omittam

res avi tui prosperas, acerbissimum eius supremum diem malim quam L. Cinnae dominatum, a quo ille crudelissime est interfectus.

35 Sed quid oratione te flectam? Si enim exitus C. Caesaris efficere non potest ut malis carus esse quam metui, nihil cuiusquam proficiet nec valebit oratio. Quem qui beatum fuisse putant, miseri ipsi sunt. Beatus est nemo, qui ea lege vivit, ut non modo impune, sed etiam cum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit. Quare flecte te, quaeso, et maiores tuos respice atque ita guberna rem publicam ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant; sine quo nec beatus nec clarus nec unc-
15 tus quisquam esse omnino potest. Populi quidem Romani
36 iudicia multa ambo habetis, quibus vos non satis moveri permoleste fero. Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi versus? quid Pompei statuae plausus infiniti? quid duobus tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne haec significant incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani universi voluntatem? Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus vel testimonia potius et iudicia populi Romani parum magna vobis videbantur? O beatos illos, qui, cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant! nisi forte Attio tum plaudi et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit, ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribuerit absenti, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret.

37 Equidem is sum qui istos plausus, cum popularibus civibus tribuerentur, semper contempserim; idemque cum a summis, mediis, infimis, cum denique ab universis hoc idem fit cumque ii, qui ante sequi populi consensum solebant, fugiunt, non plausum illum, sed iudicium puto. Sin haec leviora vobis videntur, quae sunt gravissima, num etiam hoc contemnitis,

quod sensistis, tam caram populo Romano vitam A. Hirtii fuisse? Satis erat enim probatum illum esse populo Romano, ut est, iucundum amicis, in quo vincit omnes, carum suis, quibus est ipse carissimus: tantam tamen sollicitudinem bonorum, tantum timorem in quo meminimus? certe in nullo.

Quid igitur? hoc vos, per deos immortales! quale sit non 38
interpretamini? Quid? eos de vestra vita cogitare non censetis, quibus eorum, quos sperant rei publicae consulturos, vita tam cara sit? Cepi fructum, patres conscripti, reversionis meae, quoniam et ea dixi, ut quicumque casus consecutus esset, exstaret constantiae meae testimonium, et sum a vobis benigne ac diligenter auditus. Quae potestas si mihi saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar: si minus, quantum potero, non tam mihi me quam rei publicae reservabo. Mihi fere satis est quod vixi vel ad aetatem vel ad gloriam: huc si quid accesserit, non tam mihi quam vobis reique publicae accesserit.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE SECOND ORATION.

AFTER the delivery of the first Philippic oration, Antony remained for some days in his villa at Tibur, employed, according to Cicero, in arranging and rehearsing his reply, Phil. 2. 17, 42; 5. 7, 19; Fam. 12. 2, 1. On his return to Rome he summoned the senate to meet on the 19th of September, and then delivered a speech in Cicero's absence, the nature of which we can gather from the answer it provoked. He accused Cicero of personal baseness and ingratitude; of cruelty and oppression in his consulship; of having caused the death of P. Clodius; of having brought about the civil war, by sowing variance between Caesar and Pompey; and lastly of having been the prime mover in the murder of Caesar himself. It was an open declaration of war, formed with the object of concentrating on Cicero the enmity of all parties in the state. Regarding it in this light, Cicero did not venture on an immediate reply, and though he remained in Rome till the end of the month, he did not appear in the senate.

Early in October he retired to Puteoli, where he occupied himself in composing the second Philippic oration, in reply to Antony. It was submitted to the criticism of Atticus, and some alterations made in it at his suggestion, Att. 16. 11; but though he was in Rome for a part of the autumn, he still abstained from coming into open collision with Antony, and the oration did not pass beyond the circle of his confidential friends till the end of November, when Antony left Rome to quell the mutiny

of his troops at Alba. Then, with the approbation of Atticus, Cicero published his manifesto, and the success with which it met showed the soundness of the judgment which had kept it back so long. The defection of the legions weakened the prestige of Antony, and people were prepared to join in any clamour raised against him. The crisis only called for some one with authority to lead the cry, and Cicero's oration gave the impulse which was requisite. Accepting the challenge which Antony had given some ten weeks before, he openly declared himself his enemy, and laid bare his character in one of the bitterest invectives which has ever been composed. He begins by answering in detail the charges which Antony had brought against him, and then reviews the public and the private life of Antony throughout its course, showing him to be, if the account be true, the greatest monster of corruption, meanness, and profligacy ever seen upon the earth. Even allowing for exaggeration, there was enough of truth in the attack to make it tell with fatal force against the cause of Antony. The people were shaken by it in their natural allegiance to the Consul; the veterans were reminded that the man who claimed to be the heir of Caesar's power had slighted and insulted Caesar's adopted son; and the senate were roused to energetic measures against Antony which contrasted strongly with their previous apathy. Above all, Cicero was placed in a position of influence which made him virtually the leader of the senate, and gave additional weight to his continued exertions in the cause of freedom.

The speech professes to be spoken on the 19th of September, in immediate reply to Antony; but even from internal evidence, from the elaboration of its arguments, and the very perfectness of its detail, we might gather that it could not have been an extempore address; and it is at least noticeable that in no speech which he actually delivered does he lavish such unqualified abuse upon the tyranny of Caesar.

Though it is characterized in many parts by a coarseness which we feel to be intolerable to modern ears, yet the verdict of all ages pronounces this oration to be Cicero's masterpiece. It is probably to this, the longest of the political orations, that

the younger Pliny is referring, Ep. 1. 20, 4, when he tells of 'M. Tullium, cuius oratio optima fertur, quae maxima;' and the lines of Juvenal, 10. 124, are famous

> 'Ridenda poemata malo,
> Quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
> Volveris a prima quae proxima.'

It was undoubtedly to this oration that the title of Philippic was especially applied, though when it was first given is not easily ascertained. Plutarch, Cic. 24, says that Cicero himself entitled the orations his Philippics, but he is perhaps referring to passages in the spurious letters to Brutus, 2. 4, 2; 5, 4; so that the lines of Juvenal contain the first certain trace of the name.

The oration has great historical, as well as literary, value, from the continual allusions to the events of a period of which we have no satisfactory continuous history.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo **1**
his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis, qui non bellum 1
eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec vero necesse est quemquam a me nominari: vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus quam optarem dederunt: te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo enim illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me rei publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere, ultro me maledictis lacessisti tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad impios cives fore putavisti. Quid putem? 2
contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii, quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius, quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere?

Illud profecto: non existimavit sui similibus probari posse,
3 se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus. Cui prius
quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me
violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen
iudico, pauca dicam.

2 Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus est.
An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario?
non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, sed aetatis flore
collectam? non venirem contra iniuriam, quam iste inter-
cessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure praetorio?
Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, uti te infimo
ordini commendares, cum omnes *te* recordarentur libertini
generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadii, libertini hominis,
fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras—nam
ita dixisti—; domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id fecisses,
melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consuluisses. Sed neque
fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset.
4 Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredi-
bilem audaciam! O impudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim
tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius
et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt—nec enim licebat a pluribus
nominari—, tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo nisi eversa
re publica fore incolumem putabas. Poteras autem eo
tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset?
aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre
potuisses? cuius etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt,
3 quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent. At beneficio sum tuo usus.
5 Quo? quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper
prae me tuli. Malui me tibi debere confiteri quam cuiquam
minus prudenti non satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio?
quod me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui
tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis
principatum, salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset,

eum tu occideres? Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numquam qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfectum *me* a te, quam miserum te id impune facere potuisse. Sed sit beneficium, quando 6
quidem maius accipi a latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? an de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querella, misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid non amice? Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem abstinere maledictis, praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas, quae numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere, cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnes impuritates impudica in domo quotidie susciperes vino lustrisque confectus. At ego, tam- 7
quam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multae et tam magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam ut intelligat, quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit. At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, **4**
recitavit homo et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem,

tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca
solent esse in epistolis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur!
8 quam multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda! Sit
hoc inhumanitatis: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes
quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam
esse videris? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis
in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si
ostenderis, quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus:—
sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas
litteras misisse? Quo me teste convincas? an chirographo?
in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? sunt
enim librarii manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta
9 mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat. Quid
enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quam id obiicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progredi
non possit qui obiecerit? At ego non nego, teque in isto
ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae.
Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis,
officii, benevolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod
de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod scribebam
tamquam ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam
ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure
poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam: quibus petis
ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exsilio reducere, adiurasque
id te invito me non esse facturum, idque a me impetras.
Quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae, quam neque
auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio populi Romani
10 neque leges ullae possent coërcere? Verum tamen quid
erat quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris
lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse, in
quo ne ipsius quidem ulla esse poterat lege lata.

5 Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis ut me

pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam ut, contra
illum cum dicam, attente audiatis. Simul illud oro: si meam
cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderationem modestiam-
que cognostis, ne me hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero,
oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille
quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel
quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel quod ita
factus est: ego sine ulla controversia consularis. Ut igitur 11
intelligeretis, qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, obiecit
mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus verbo meus, patres
conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, quid
gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius ordinis consilio, auctoritate,
sententia? Haec tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens,
apud eos, quorum consilio sapientiaque gesta sunt, ausus es
vituperare? Quis autem meum consulatum praeter te
Publiumque Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est? Cuius
quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id
domus tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale. Non placet 12
M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum
primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime
est mortuus; placuit Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica
vivet auctoritas; placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hor-
tensio, C. Curioni, C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido,
L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenae, qui tum erant
consules designati; placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni,
qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum quod te consulem
non vidit. Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius
probavit, qui, ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, com-
plexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse
dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo
senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti
gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos,
rem publicam referret acceptam. Sed quoniam illis, quos **6**

nominavi, tot et talibus viris res publica orbata est, veniamus
ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt.
L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus iis
gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis
amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares
senatusque cunctus assensus est, qui honos post conditam
14 hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. L. Caesar,
avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate
sententiam dixit in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc
tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum
totiusque vitae debuisses habere, vitrici te similem quam
avunculi maluisti. Huius ego alienus consiliis consul tum
usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid ad eum umquam de re
publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert? di immortales! Ad
eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam dies natales audiendi sunt.
15 Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? dat nataliciam in
hortis. Cui? neminem nominabo: putate tum Phormioni
alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem
hominis flagitiosam! o impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem
non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem
singularem, tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re publica
nihil referas, referas ad eos, qui suam rem nullam habent,
7 tuam exhauriunt? Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus,
perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti,
ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum
illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, con-
sulebam, tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocavisti?
16 At etiam ausus est—quid autem est quod tu non audeas?—
clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum servorum
armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta
fierent, vim afferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota
non sunt—nihil enim boni nosti—sive sunt, qui apud tales
viros tam impudenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus,

quis praeter te adolescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se
civem esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in
clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? quamquam
nec scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina illorum capere
potuerunt. Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio 17
confiterentur, consciorum indiciis, sua manu, voce paene
litterarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare
Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse, quis esset qui ad
salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? praesertim
cum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si
qui nunc esset, tibi idem quod illis accidit contigisset. Ad
sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero
ne Publius quidem Clodius dixit umquam: quem, quia iure
ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis [eum] esse supera-
tum. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam 18
nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare
ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam improbum evadere,
nisi accessisset etiam disciplina? Tam autem eras excors, **8**
ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares, non modo non
cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime disiuncta atque
contraria, ut non tanta mecum, quanta tibi tecum esset
contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare,
poena affectum querebare. Ita quod proprie meum est,
laudasti, quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti: nam com-
prehensio sontium mea, animadversio senatus fuit. Homo
disertus non intelligit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se,
eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. Iam illud cuius est, non 19
dico audaciae—cupit enim se audacem—, sed, quod minime
vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem
facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati? cum in
hac cella Concordiae, di immortales! in qua me consule
salutares sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus,
cum gladiis homines collocati stent? Accusa senatum, accusa

equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit,
accusa omnes ordines, omnes cives, dum confiteare hunc
ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ityraeis circumsederi. Haec
tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed, quia
tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis.
Quid est enim dementius quam, cum rei publicae perniciosa
20 arma ipse ceperis, obiicere alteri salutaria? At etiam quodam
loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di boni, non decebat!
In quo est tua culpa non nulla; aliquid enim salis a mima
uxore trahere potuisti. *Cedant arma togae.* Quid? tum
nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaera-
mus igitur, utrum melius fuerit, libertati populi Romani
sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere.
Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo: tantum dicam
breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras nosse, me
nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse, et tamen omni
genere monimentorum meorum perfecisse ut meae vigiliae
meaeque litterae et iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano
laudis aliquid afferrent. Sed haec non huius temporis:
maiora videamus.

9 P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quid-
21 nam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cum tu illum in
foro spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es nego-
tiumque transegisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae
coniecisset iisque oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset?
Quod quidem ego favisse me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu
quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui; prius
enim rem transegit quam quisquam eum facturum id suspi-
caretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis,
ut prodesse rei publicae sine suasore non posset! At lae-
tatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis me
22 unum tristem esse oportebat? Quamquam de morte Clodii
fuit quaestio—non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta;

quid enim attinebat nova lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio constituta? quaesitum est tamen—: quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres?

Quod vero dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, opera mea 23
Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule nihil prae- **10**
termisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit; ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere impudentis. Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus 24
aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii imperium Caesari prorogaret, alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium, pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam diremisses! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae.' Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt: quae si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.

Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesarem meo consilio **11**
interfectum. Iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod turpissi- 25
mum est, praevaricatorem mihi apposuisse videar, qui me non

solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit? cuius autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum? occultatum dico? cuius non statim divulgatum? Citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos, ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur, cum conscii non fuissent, quam ut quisquam celari vellet qui
26 fuisset. Quam veri simile porro est in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis? et foris potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius, in ea familia natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit: qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat,
27 non ad contrariam naves appulisset. Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis ad recuperandam libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem: quo etiam maiorem ei res publica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae praeposuit depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quam facturum putavi, admiratus autem ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriae fuisset. Quid? duos Servilios—Cascas dicam an Ahalas?—et hos auctoritate mea censes excitatos potius quam caritate rei publicae? Longum est persequi ceteros, idque rei publicae praeclarum, fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.

At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus record- **12**
amini. Caesare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum alte 28
extollens Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit
atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi
potissimum? quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appel-
landi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis,
quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se aemulum
mearum laudium exstitisse. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, 29
non intelligis, si, id quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Cae-
sarem crimen sit, etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen
esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem?
aut quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum?
Ecquis est igitur exceptis iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant,
qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit? Omnes
ergo in culpa: etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit,
Caesarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis
occasio defuit: voluntas nemini. Sed stuporem hominis vel 30
dicam pecudis attendite; sic enim dixit: 'Brutus, quem
ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum pugionem tenens Cic-
eronem exclamavit: ex quo intelligi debet eum conscium
fuisse.' Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspi-
catum aliquid suspicaris: ille, qui stillantem prae se pugionem
tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto: sit in verbis
tuis hic stupor: quanto in rebus sententiisque maior?
Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassii, Cn.
Domitii, C. Trebonii, reliquorum quam velis esse causam;
edormi crapulam, inquam, et exala. An faces admovendae
sunt, quae excitent tantae causae indormientem? Numquamne
intelliges statuendum tibi esse, utrum illi, qui istam rem
gesserunt, homicidae sint an vindices libertatis? Attende **13**
enim paulisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis punctum
temporis suscipe. Ego, qui sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, 31
familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quidquam esse

medium: confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani conservatoresque rei publicae sint, plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse, si quidem est atrocius patriae parentem quam suum occidere. Tu homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidas, cur honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum semper appellati? cur M. Brutus referente te legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies afuisset? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur provinciae Bruto et Cassio datae? cur quaestores additi? cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atqui haec acta per te; non igitur homicidas. Sequitur ut liberatores tuo iudicio,
32 quando quidem tertium nihil potest esse. Quid est? num conturbo te? non enim fortasse satis quae diiunctius dicuntur intelligis. Sed tamen haec summa est conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos ut, si qui forte quod a te mihi obiectum est quaerent sitne verum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor ne aut celatum me illis ipsis non honestum, aut invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta maior? quae gloriosior? quae commendatior hominum memoriae sempiternae? In huius me tu consilii societatem tamquam in equum Troianum cum
33 principibus includis? Non recuso; ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis. Tanta enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare, cum laude non comparem. Quid enim beatius illis, quos tu expulsos a te praedicas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, cum accesserint, non affari atque appetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cum eos adspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent?

quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae
litterae reperientur, quae eorum gloriam non immor-
talitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu vero adscribe me
talem in numerum. Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes.
Si enim fuissem, non solum regem, sed etiam regnum de re **14**
publica sustulissem; et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, 34
mihi crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam
confecissem. Quamquam si interfici Caesarem voluisse
crimen est, vide, quaeso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem
et Narbone hoc consilium cum Trebonio cepisse notissimum
est, et ob eius consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar,
tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem—vide
quam tecum agam non inimice—quod bene cogitasti ali-
quando, laudo; quod non indicasti, gratias ago; quod non
fecisti, ignosco; virum res illa quaerebat. Quod si te in 35
iudicium quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, c u i b o n o
f u e r i t, vide, quaeso, ne haereas. Quamquam illud fuit,
ut dicebas quidem, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant, tibi
tamen praecipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas,
qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti, qui per
easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti, ad quem
e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt, cuius domi quaestuo-
sissima est falsorum commentariorum et chirographorum offi-
cina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatium, vectigalium flagitio-
sissimae nundinae. Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno 36
tuo praeter mortem Caesaris subvenire potuisset? Nescio
quid conturbatus esse videris: num quid subtimes ne ad te
hoc crimen pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo
credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri;
habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica
auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo.
Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respond-
endum est.

15 Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obiecisti.
37 Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim me, cum ea quae acciderunt providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praestantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus; qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua conditione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur—rem publicam hodie teneremus.
38 Quae sententia si valuisset, ac non ei maxime mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitissent, ut alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine, vel potius numquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea. An ille quemquam plus dilexit? cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit saepius? quod quidem erat magnum, de summa re publica dissentientes in eadem consuetudine amicitiae permanere. Ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid ego sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati civium primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille praesenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra
39 dissensio. Quid vero ille singularis vir ac paene divinus de me senserit, sciunt qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii, cum me vidisse plus fateretur,

se speravisse meliora. Et eius viri nomine me insectari audes,
cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse fateare? Sed omittatur **16**
bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne de iocis
quidem respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti.
Erant quidem illa castra plena curae; verum tamen homines
quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo homines sunt,
interdum animis relaxantur. Quod autem idem maestitiam 40
meam reprehendit, idem iocum, magno argumento est me in
utroque fuisse moderatum.

Hereditatem mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum
crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed
qui istuc tibi venit in mentem? ego enim amplius sestertium
ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus retuli. Quamquam in
hoc genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus
fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi
quidam dolor iungeretur: te is, quem tu vidisti numquam,
L. Rubrius Casinas fecit heredem. Et quidem vide, quam 41
te amarit is, qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras. Fratris filium
praeteriit, Q. Fufii, honestissimi equitis Romani suique amicissimi, quem palam heredem semper factitarat, ne nominat
quidem: te, quem numquam viderat aut certe numquam
salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum
est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio,
qua tribu. 'Nihil scio' inquies 'nisi quae praedia habuerit.'
Igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat heredem. In multas
praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eiectis veris
heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit. Quamquam hoc 42
maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum
esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non adisses.

Haec ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies in aliena **17**
villa declamasti? quamquam tu quidem, ut tui familiarissimi
dictitant, vini exalandi, non ingenii acuendi causa declamas.
At vero adhibes ioci causa magistrum, suffragio tuo et com-

potorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti ut in te quae vellet
diceret, salsum omnino hominem, sed materia facilis est in te
et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem quid intersit inter te et
avum tuum. Ille sensim dicebat, quod causae prodesset: tu
43 cursim dicis aliena. At quanta merces rhetori data est!
Audite, audite, patres conscripti, et cognoscite rei publicae
vulnera. Duo milia iugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori
assignasti et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mer-
cede nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime,
ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Leon-
tino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros ereptos rei publicae
turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Iam enim, quoniam
criminibus eius satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et cor-
rectore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt. Nec enim omnia
effundam, ut, si saepius decertandum sit, ut erit, semper novus
veniam: quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum
peccatorumque largitur.

18 Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic, opinor; a prin-
44 cipio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria praetextatum te decox-
isse? Patris, inquies, ista culpa est. Concedo; etenim est
pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod se-
disti in quattuordecim ordinibus, cum esset lege Roscia decoc-
toribus certus locus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio, non suo
decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam
reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum; certa flagitii merces nec
ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaes-
tu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili
45 et certo collocavit. Nemo umquam puer emptus libidinis
causa tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quo-
tiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit? quotiens custodes posuit,
ne limen intrares? cum tu tamen nocte socia, hortante libid-
ine, cogente mercede per tegulas demitterere. Quae flagitia
domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi

notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio
maerens iacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prosternens
lacrimans te mihi commendabat; orabat ut se contra suum
patrem, si sestertium sexagiens peteret, defenderem: tantum
enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens
confirmavit, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se
in exsilium iturum. Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentis- 46
simae familiae sedavi vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi ut
aes alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adolescentem, summa
spe et animi et ingenii praeditum, rei familiaris facultatibus,
eumque non modo tua familiaritate, sed etiam congressione
patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum per me
acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres,
maledictis me provocare ausus esses? Sed iam stupra et **19**
flagitia omittamus: sunt quaedam, quae honeste non possum 47
dicere, tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quae a
verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitae
cursum videte, quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad haec
enim, quae in civili bello, in maximis rei publicae miseriis
fecit, et ad ea, quae quotidie facit, festinat animus. Quae
peto ut, quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, ta-
men, ut facitis, attente audiatis: debet enim talibus in rebus
excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam record-
atio: etsi incidamus, opinor, media, ne nimis sero ad extrema
veniamus.

Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia 48
commemorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax, cuius etiam
domi iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam ipse optime
intelligit. Inde iter Alexandream contra senatus auctoritatem,
contra rem publicam et religiones: sed habebat ducem Gab-
inium, quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset. Qui tum
inde reditus aut qualis? prius in ultimam Galliam ex Ae-
gypto quam domum. Quae autem domus? suam enim

quisque domum tum obtinebat, nec erat usquam tua. Do-
mum dico? quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem poneres
praeter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis tamquam Sisapo-
20 nem tenebas? Venis e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam.
49 Aude dicere te prius ad parentem tuum venisse quam ad me.
Acceperam iam ante Caesaris litteras, ut mihi satis fieri pa-
terer a te: itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia.
Postea sum cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaes-
turae. Quo quidem tempore P. Clodium approbante populo
Romano in foro es conatus occidere, cumque eam rem tua
sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas,
te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, umquam mihi pro
tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur
Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultro
mihi idem illud deferentem numquam sim adhortatus. Quam-
quam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam
50 referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam. Quaestor es fac-
tus: deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege
ad Caesarem cucurristi; id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris
alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse duce-
bas. Ibi te cum et illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis exple-
visses, si hoc est explere quod statim effundas, advolasti egens
ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis
esses.

21 Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea, quae ipse in se atque in
domesticum decus impure et intemperanter, sed quae in nos
fortunasque nostras, id est in universam rem publicam, impie
ac nefarie fecerit: ab huius enim scelere omnium malorum
51 principium natum reperietis. Nam cum L. Lentulo C.
Marcello consulibus Kalendis Ianuariis labentem et prope
cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetis, ipsique C. Caesari,
si sana mente esset, consulere velletis: tum iste venditum
atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit

cervicesque suas ei subiecit securi, qua multi minoribus in
peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus
et quidem incolumis, nondum tot luminibus exstinctis, quod
in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more maiorum. Et
tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum
ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae
iudicatus? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est,
non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi
Romani nomen exstabit—quod quidem erit, si per te licebit,
sempiternum,—tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur.
Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus 52
adolescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei
publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius? neque tu
tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem
agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles,
cum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque maiores natu
monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque
addicta sententia movere potuit? Tum illud multis rebus
ante tentatis necessario tibi vulnus inflictum est, quod paucis
ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo: tum contra te dedit
arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus:
quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Caesaris contulisses.
Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Caesari omnia **22**
perturbare cupienti causam belli contra patriam inferendi 53
dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam sui
dementissimi consilii et facti afferebat, nisi quod intercessio
neglecta, ius tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu
esset Antonius? Omitto quam haec falsa, quam levia,
praesertim cum omnino nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse possit
contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare: tibi
certe confitendum est causam perniciosissimi belli persona
tua constitisse. O miserum te, si haec intelligis, miseriorem, 54
si non intelligis, hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae prodi,

huius rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium saeculorum umquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos cumque iis Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit, omnes consulares, qui per valetudinem exsequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent, praetores, praetorios, tribunos pl., magnam partem senatus, omnem subolem iuventutis, unoque verbo rem publicam expulsam atque
55 exterminatam suis sedibus! Ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives: eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas huius ordinis afflicta est: afflixit Antonius. Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus—quid autem mali non vidimus?—si recte ratiocinabimur, uni accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Troianis, sic iste huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exitii fuit. Reliquae partes tribunatus principii similes. Omnia perfecit, quae senatus salva re publica ne fieri possent perfecerat.
23 Cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite. Restituebat multos
56 calamitosos: in iis patrui nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnes? si misericors, cur non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros: Licinium Denticulam de alea condemnatum, collusorem suum, restituit, quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret: sed ut, quod in alea perdiderat, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano cur eum restitui oporteret? Absentem credo in reos relatum; rem indicta causa iudicatam; nullum fuisse de alea lege iudicium; vi oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem, ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihilo est, ita ignoscerem. Hominem omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quae est de alea,

condemnatum qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissime
studium suum ipse profitetur? In eodem vero tribunatu, 57
cum Caesar in Hispaniam proficiscens huic conculcandam
Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit eius peragratio itinerum!
lustratio municipiorum! Scio me in rebus celebratissimis
omnium sermone versari eaque, quae dico dicturusque sum,
notiora esse omnibus, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi,
qui non fui: notabo tamen singulas res, etsi nullo modo
poterit oratio mea satis facere vestrae scientiae. Etenim
quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium exstitisse auditum
est? tantam turpitudinem? tantum dedecus? Vehebatur in **24**
essedo tribunus pl.; lictores laureati antecedebant, inter quos 58
aperta lectica mima portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales
homines honesti, obviam necessario prodeuntes, non noto
illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam consalutabant.
Sequebatur reda cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi: reiecta
mater amicam impuri filii tamquam nurum sequebatur.
O miserae mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum
flagitiorum iste vestigiis omnia municipia, praefecturas,
colonias, totam denique Italiam impressit.

Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilis est 59
sane reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; saturavit
se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium: felix fuit, si potest
ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum
esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa et tua—
illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem,—tamen, ne apud illos
me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor
e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi me
non occidisti. Magnum beneficium! potuisse enim fateor:
quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fuerunt, qui
mihi non censeret parci oportere. Tanta est enim caritas 60
patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quod eam
a me servatam esse meminissent. Sed fac id te dedisse

mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non
a te sit erepta: licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum
beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec
25 auditurum videres? Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem
61 et in complexum tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior?
Quam miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum
confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani
quidem exercitus? quis enim miles fuit qui Brundisii illam
non viderit? quis qui nescierit venisse eam tibi tot dierum
via gratulatum? quis qui non indoluerit tam sero se quam
62 nequam hominem secutus esset cognoscere? Italiae rursus
percursatio eadem comite mima, in oppida militum crudelis
et misera deductio, in urbe auri, argenti maximeque vini
foeda direptio. Accessit ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille
Alexandreae, beneficio amicorum eius magister equitum
constitueretur. Tum existimavit se suo iure cum Hippia
vivere et equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere. Tum sibi
non hanc, quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum
ubi habitaret legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas,
quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam?
Cogebat egestas; quo se verteret, non habebat: nondum ei
tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat; non-
dum in Pompei locum multorumque aliorum, qui aberant,
repentinus heres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum
ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

63 Sed haec, quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus:
loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis
faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis
firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi
necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie.
O rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter
cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset,
quis non turpe duceret? in coetu vero populi Romani,

negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare
turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus
gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed haec ipse
fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendidiora.

Caesar Alexandrea se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem vide- **26**
batur, mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit hostis, felix 64
esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris
bona subiecta Cn. Pompei—miserum me! consumptis enim
lacrimis tamen infixus haeret animo dolor,—bona, inquam,
Cn. Pompei magni voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis.
Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit servientibusque
animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi
Romani liber fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus quisnam esset
tam impius, tam demens, tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui
ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo
praeter Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam
illam, qui alia omnia auderent: unus inventus est qui id
auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia.
Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus 65
furor, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum
Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano, non
detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines esse
inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo
invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat
populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior! In eius **27**
igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat
gaudio persona de mimo, modo egens, repente dives. Sed,
ut est apud poëtam nescio quem, *male parta male dila-
buntur.* Incredibile ac simile portenti est, quonam modo 66
illa tam multa quam paucis non dico mensibus, sed diebus
effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi
pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et
magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis,

sed tamen abundantis: horum paucis diebus nihil erat.
67 Quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdim dico? quae si
fuit, animal unum fuit: Oceanus, me dius fidius, vix videtur
tot res, tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam
cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsigna-
tum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae totae nequissimis hominibus
condonabantur. Alia mimi rapiebant, alia mimae: domus
erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum: totos dies potabatur
atque id locis pluribus: suggerebantur etiam saepe—non
enim semper iste felix—damna aleatoria. Conchyliatis
Cn. Pompei peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos
videres. Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter
esse consumpta: non modo unius patrimonium quamvis
amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna celeriter tanta
nequitia devorare potuisset. At idem aedes etiam et hortos.
68 O audaciam immanem! tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus
es? tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare? tu illarum aedium
dis penatibus os impurissimum ostendere? Quam domum
aliquamdiu nemo adspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis
praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet?
in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse
28 iucundum. An tu, illa in vestibulo rostra [spolia] cum
adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? fieri non potest.
Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen
et te et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque
vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere.
Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, violentus et furens, cum
tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de
69 somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem. Me quidem
miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim
umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex
optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir,
patres conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus tum domi

admirandus, neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam
institutis domesticis. Huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula,
pro conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat: nolite quae-
rere; frugi factus est: illam †suam suas res sibi habere
iussit, ex duodecim tabulis claves ademit, exegit. Quam
porro spectatus civis, quam probatus! cuius ex omni vita
nihil est honestius quam quod cum mima fecit divortium.
At quam crebro usurpat 'et consul et Antonius': hoc 70
est dicere: et consul et impudicissimus, et consul et homo
nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius? Nam si
dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando
avus tuus se et consulem et Antonium—numquam dixit:
—dixisset etiam collega meus, patruus tuus, nisi si tu es
solus Antonius. Sed omitto ea peccata, quae non sunt earum
partium propria, quibus tu rem publicam vexavisti: ad ipsas
tuas partes redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod natum,
conflatum, susceptum opera tua est. Cui bello cum propter **29**
timiditatem tuam, tum propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras 71
civilem sanguinem vel potius exsorbueras: fueras in acie
Pharsalica antesignanus; L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobi-
lissimum virum, occideras multosque praeterea qui e proelio
effugerant, quos Caesar, ut non nullos, fortasse servasset,
crudelissime persecutus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis
talibus gestis, quid fuit causae cur in Africam Caesarem
non sequerere, cum praesertim belli pars tanta restaret?
Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Caesarem post eius ex
Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cuius tu
imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum,
belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, testa-
mento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de pecunia,
quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas. Primo 72
respondisti plane ferociter, et, ne omnia videar contra te,
prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas. A me C. Caesar

pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille
vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis
causam attuli; ego leges perniciosas rogavi; ego arma
contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra
senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios aras-
que et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit?
Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda
communis? Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem? plus ille
73 poterat. Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedes
tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula
prolata est. Qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam,
tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter
partem Miseni nihil erat, quod is qui auctionaretur posset
suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis adspectus: vestis
Pompei non multa eaque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam
argentea vasa collisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus
quidquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre possemus.
74 Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubrii decreto Caesaris
prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo: quo se verteret non
habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris per-
cussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica:
de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est.
Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar, paucis tibi ad solvendum
propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem
sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc
igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis
tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

30 Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam, sed tuto,
75 ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dola-
bella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni,
aut, cum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter
depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, His-
pania. Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella: in Hispaniensi

etiam vulnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem; sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia: tu vero quid es? Cn. Pompei liberi tum primum patriam repetebant—esto; fuerit haec partium causa communis:—repetebant praeterea deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus—etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse aequi?—tamen quem erat aequissimum contra Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare? quem? te, sectorem. An cum tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

Qui vero Narbone reditus? Etiam quaerebat, cur ego ex 76
ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei: volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, a qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et
lacerna cucurristi. At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora **31**
diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam 77
cauponula atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperam; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite obvoluto. Ianitor: 'Quis tu?' 'A Marco tabellarius.' Confestim ad eam, cuius causa venerat, eique epistolam tradidit. Quam cum illa legeret flens—erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum, sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil

futurum; omnem se amorem abiecisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse—: cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit: caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo ut te catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu
78 perturbasti? Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a tribuno plebis cum respondisses te rei tuae causa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad maiora veniamus.

32 C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime processisti. Celeriter isti, redisti, ut cognosceret te, si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum. Factus es ei rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem liben-
79 tissime recipiebat. His igitur rebus praeclare commendatus iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorat? Ille induxit ut peteret, promissum et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit: tu eius perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae: cogimur in senatum; invectus est copiosius multo in istum et paratius
80 Dolabella quam nunc ego. Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum Caesar ostendisset se, prius quam proficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse iussurum—quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et diceret:—sed cum Caesar ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse

asseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii 81 iure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem. Esto: hoc imperite; nec enim est ab homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia: sed videte impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed prius quam habeantur debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscientia impudentia est; nec scit quod augurem, nec facit quod pudentem decet. Itaque ex illo die 82 recordamini eius usque ad Idus Martias consulatum. Quis umquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat; omnia rogabat; caput in aversam lecticam inserens beneficia, quae venderet, a collega petebat. Ecce Dolabellae **33** comitiorum dies; sortitio praerogativae; quiescit. Renuntiatur; tacet. Prima classis vocatur, renuntiatur; deinde, ita ut assolet, suffragia; tum secunda classis vocatur: quae omnia sunt citius facta quam dixi. Confecto negotio bonus 83 augur—C. Laelium diceres—alio die inquit. O impudentiam singularem! Quid videras? quid senseras? quid audieras? neque enim te de caelo servasse dixisti, nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse provideras et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es auspicia, obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum, augur auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere, quae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur.

84 Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quam diu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella: rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum alio die dixeris, sobrium non fuisse: sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit augur a collega requiro.

34 Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris sit tanta
85 merces, id est ubi campus Leontinus appareat. Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam—ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes—, diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi: ille cum plausu reiiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es qui, cum auctor regni esses, eum, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles; idem tentares, quid populus Romanus
86 ferre et pati posset. At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad pedes abiiciebas. Quid petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires: a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius? quid foedius? quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiamus? haec te, si ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus. Quid indignius quam vivere eum qui imposuerit diadema,

cum omnes fateantur iure interfectum esse qui abiecerit? At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia: C. Caesari, 87 dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse, Caesarem uti noluisse. Iam iam minime miror te otium perturbare; non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post saeculis a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?

Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martiis fuit **35** in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: tum tu quid egisses? 88 Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem Fortuna rei publicae. Num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga! quae formido praeclaro illo die! quae propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae! cum ex illa fuga beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti. O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! 89 Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortarer: quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum ceteri consulares irent redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo die neque postero vidi, neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum omnes aditus armati obsiderent. Qui tibi

90 dies ille, Antoni, fuit! Quamquam mihi inimicus subito
36 exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invideris. Qui tu
vir, di immortales, et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem
servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per
obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quam-
quam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister
officii, improbum fecit ea, quae, dum timor abest, a te non
discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant me
quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, scelera-
91 tissime praefuisti. Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio,
tua cohortatio; tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti et eas,
quibus semustilatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bel-
lieni domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum homi-
num et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque
reppulimus, in nostras domos immisisti. Idem tamen quasi
fuligine abstersa reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus
consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula
neve cuius beneficii figeretur. Meministi ipse de exsulibus,
scis de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dic-
taturae nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti: quo
quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut
eius omne nomen propter proximi dictatoris metum tolleres.
92 Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo,
qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam. Num igitur
me fefellit? aut num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse. In-
spectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque
solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis uni-
versis: civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis da-
batur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante re publica manere
non possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, perdi-
distis, neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi
37 Romani huius domesticis nundinis deminutum est. Ubi est
93 septiens miliens, quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis?

funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen, quae nos, si iis,
quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis posset vindicare. Tu
autem quadringentiens sestertium, quod Idibus Martiis debu-
isti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere desisti?
Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quae a tuis emebantur non
insciente te, sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro, populi
Romani amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum: quo pro-
posito nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere.
Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? aeque 94
atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus,
quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat.
Igitur a quo vivo nec praesens nec absens rex Deiotarus
quidquam aequi boni impetravit, apud mortuum factus est
gratiosus. Compellarat hospitem praesens, computarat, pe-
cuniam impetrarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis
comitibus suis collocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu
datam. Haec vivus eripuit: reddit mortuus. At quibus 95
verbis? modo aequum sibi videri, modo non iniquum. Mira
verborum complexio! At ille numquam—semper enim absenti
adfui Deiotaro—quidquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postulare-
mus, aequum dixit videri. Syngrapha sestertii centiens per
legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostra,
sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaecio
est, quo in loco plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex
syngrapha quid sis acturus meditere censeo: rex enim ipse
sua sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit
eius interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo 96
sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, ut, quae tyranni eripuissent,
ea tyrannis interfectis ii, quibus erepta essent, recuperarent.
Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est
iure consultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi
dicit pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham recuperatae:
non enim a te emit, sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes,

ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auc-
38 torem odimus, acta defendimus. Quid ego de commentariis
97 infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quo-
rum etiam institores sunt, qui ea tamquam gladiatorum libel-
los palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud
istum construuntur, ut iam expendantur, non numerentur
pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula
est, qua civitates locupletissimae Cretensium vectigalibus
liberantur, statuiturque ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit
Creta provincia. Tu mentis es compos? tu non constrin-
gendus? In Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum
potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum Caesare vivo per-
tineret? At huius venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis,
provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullius rei fuit
98 emptor cui defuerit hic venditor. Et de exsulibus legem,
quam fixisti, Caesar tulit? Nullius insector calamitatem:
tantum queror, primum eorum reditus inquinatos, quorum
causam Caesar dissimilem iudicarit; deinde nescio cur non
reliquis idem tribuas: neque enim plus quam tres aut quat-
tuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tua
misericordia non simili fruuntur? cur eos habes in loco
patrui? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti: quem
etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti, eamque petitionem
99 comparasti, quae et risus hominum et querellas moveret. Cur
autem ea comitia non habuisti? an quia tribunus pl. sinistrum
fulmen nuntiabat? Cum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia
sunt, cum tuorum, tum fis religiosus. Quid? eundem in
septemviratu nonne destituisti? intervenit enim, cui metuisti,
credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum
contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas
esset, colere debebas. Filiam eius, sororem tuam, eiecisti, alia
conditione quaesita et ante perspecta. Non est satis: probri
insimulasti pudicissimam feminam. Quid est quod addi pos-

sit? contentus eo non fuisti. Frequentissimo senatu Kalen-
dis Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella
causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuae
stuprum esse oblatum comperisses. Quis interpretari potest,
impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbior, qui in Dolabel-
lam, an impurior, qui patruo audiente, an crudelior, qui in
illam miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris? Sed ad **39**
chirographa redeamus. Quae tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim **100**
Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu, quae quidem
Caesar egisset, non ea, quae egisse Caesarem dixisset
Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt? quo auctore proferuntur?
si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur veneunt? At sic
placuerat, ut Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio
cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium? quem umquam convo-
casti? quas Kalendas Iunias exspectasti? an eas, ad quas te
peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?

O praeclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili
atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere cona-
tus es! Quem ad modum illinc abieris vel potius paene non **101**
abieris, scimus. Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere, ut
aliquando illud paene tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua
illa peregrinatio! Quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam
vinolentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa
nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus exime-
batur ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicae
vulnus putabamus, hunc tu compransoribus tuis et collusoribus
dividebas. Mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in agro
Campano collocatos. Quid iam querar de agro Leontino?
quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes Campana et Leontina
in populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae et fructuosae fere-
bantur. Medico tria milia iugerum: quid, si te sanasset?
rhetori duo: quid, si te disertum facere potuisset? Sed ad iter **40**
Italiamque redeamus. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quo **102**

Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisti me per litteras de Capua
tu quidem, sed idem de Casilino respondissem: possesne, ubi
colonia esset, eo coloniam novam iure deducere. Negavi in
eam coloniam, quae esset auspicato deducta, dum esset inco-
lumis, coloniam novam iure deduci: colonos novos adscribi
posse rescripsi. Tu autem insolentia elatus omni auspiciorum
iure turbato Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis
annis ante deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum cir-
cumduceres: cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene
103 perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur. Ab
hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Varronis, sanc-
tissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. Quo iure?
quo ore? Eodem, inquies, quo in heredum L. Rubrii, quo in
heredum L. Turselii praedia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles
possessiones. Et si ab hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulae,
modo Caesaris, non tuae; quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te
liberavisti. Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse
dicit? quis hastam istius venditionis vidit? quis vocem prae-
conis audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandream, qui emeret
104 a Caesare. Ipsum enim exspectare magnum fuit! Quis vero
audivit umquam—nullius autem salus curae pluribus fuit—
de fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Quid? si
etiam scripsit ad te Caesar ut redderes, quid satis potest dici de
tanta impudentia? Remove gladios parumper illos, quos
videmus: iam intelliges aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris,
aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tuae; non enim te dominus
modo illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator
41 arcebit. At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime es perbac-
chatus? Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O
tecta ipsa misera quam dispari domino! Quamquam quo
modo iste dominus? sed tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur!
studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libidinum
105 deversorium. Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur! quae cogita-

bantur! quae litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monimenta maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero te inquilino—non enim domino—personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia. Cum inde 106
Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates: sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid, Anagnini? Qui cum essent devii, descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu, † sed tum nimis inter omnes constabat neminem esse resalutatum, praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter poculorum. Quid ego illas 107
istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem studio, iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille col- **42**
legae tui fuit, cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea nescio—metum credo valuisse et arma—; collegam quidem de caelo detraxisti effecistique, non tu quidem etiam nunc ut similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset sui.

Qui vero inde reditus Romam! quae perturbatio totius 108
urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea dominantem, modo regnantem Caesarem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi nec ita multi. Ista vero

quae et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis
secuntur: scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his
quidem iam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine ob-
duruimus. Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat constitu-
109 tum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. At
iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam, et
potius discessu nostro laetatus est, statimque illa mirabilia
facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri
sui causa, is leges Caesaris easque praeclaras, ut rem publi-
cam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis
prorogavit, idemque cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse
deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit.
In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis firmissimum est
testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut
tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit, quod etiam
infimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas
populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos
Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

43 Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens? tu illum amas mortuum?
110 Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet
pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen,
ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius.
Quid igitur cessas? cur non inauguraris? Sume diem, vide
qui te inauguret: collegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detesta-
bilem hominem, sive quod Caesaris sacerdos es, sive quod
mortui! Quaero deinceps, num hodiernus dies qui sit
ignores. Nescis heri quartum in Circo diem ludorum Roman-
orum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse ut quintus
praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur? Cur non sumus praetex-
tati? cur honorem Caesaris tua lege datum deseri patimur?
an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es, pul-
vinaria contaminari noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle
aut usque quaque conserva. Quaeris placeatne mihi pulvinar

esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi vero nihil istorum placet: 111
sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere cur alia defendas, alia non cures? nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem?—exspecto enim eloquentiam tuam: disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo; ille numquam nudus est contionatus, tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus—: respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis? ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse confidas?

Sed praeterita omittamus: hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, **44**
hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, 112
si potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus saeptus est? cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvae Concordiae non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidii sui causa se facere dicit. Non igitur miliens perire est melius quam in sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istud, mihi crede, praesidium: caritate te et benevolentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis. Eripiet 113
et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam salvis nobis! sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicumque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum recuperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adolescentes nobilissimos, paratos defensores: quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem

plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus
postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte
114 etiam repellendum. Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores
e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt.
Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello
est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat;
Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem
regni appetendi sunt necati: hi primum cum gladiis non
in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt.
Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum est atque
divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum est, praesertim cum
illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse
videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi
facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror
esse contemnendam.

45 Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam
115 sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique
Romani, confer cum hac immani nundinatione tua tuo-
rumque: tum intelliges quantum inter lucrum et laudem
intersit. Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus
stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari,
facinerosi verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te
laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus
quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare? Iudicia non
metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo: sin propter vim,
non intelligis, qui isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid
116 timendum sit. Quod si non metuis viros fortes egregios-
que cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te,
mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies
et noctes timere a suis? nisi vero aut maioribus habes
beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a
quibus est interfectus, aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparan-
dus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura,

cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat quamvis rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus magno labore, multis periculis quod cogitarat effecerat; muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinxerat; quid multa? attulerat iam liberae civitati partim metu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi. Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre **46** possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. **117** Sed ex plurimis malis, quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit iam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas? neque intelligis satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad **118** hoc opus curretur neque occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.

Respice, quaeso, aliquando [rem publicam, M. Antoni]; quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera; mecum, uti voles: redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris, ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adolescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso **119** in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus iis, quas *adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto, unum, ut* moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam—hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest—; alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRD ORATION

THE third oration brings before us a new scene in the struggle between the different parties in the state, and is directed against an attempt on the part of Antony which gave occasion, more or less directly, to all the remaining orations except the eleventh. We have seen that one of the first measures which Antony proposed, after the death of Caesar, was a change in the disposition of the provinces, whereby he was to obtain Macedonia, and Dolabella Syria. Not content with this, he shortly afterwards, probably in July (see Merivale 3. 98), proposed that Macedonia should be transferred to his brother Gaius, and that he himself should supplant Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul, apparently in order that he might possess a powerful force within easy reach of the city. The senate refused to listen to the proposal, but Antony brought it before the people in the 'comitia,' and gained their assent by persuading them that Decimus was preparing to attack the party of Caesar, and uphold by force the cause of his assassins. He also obtained leave to recall four legions from Macedonia, and on the 9th of October proceeded to Brundisium to place himself at their head. On his way he put some soldiers to death at Suessa Auruncorum, and finding at Brundisium that two of the legions, the Martia and Quarta, despised the largess which he offered them, he treacherously massacred their centurions in the presence of his wife. Finding that the troops were not to be depended

on, probably owing to the temptations offered by agents of Octavianus, he sent the second and thirty-fifth legions, which still in the main adhered to him (see 5. 19, 53; Fam. 10. 30, 1), in detachments towards Cisalpine Gaul, appointing a rendezvous at Ariminum; and returned himself to Rome, at the head of the Gaulish legion Alauda, which he had probably brought with him from Rome; as we know that it was there in the earlier part of the summer (Att. 16. 8, 2).

Octavianus had meanwhile been levying troops, and winning over the veterans in Campania, by a largess of 500 denarii apiece. By Cicero's advice he returned to Rome, shortly before the arrival of Antony, but finding that the veterans were not yet prepared for open conflict with the Consul, he thought it prudent to retire to Arretium.

Antony left the bulk of his troops at Tibur, but entered the city, contrary to the laws, at the head of an armed force, to whom, as he marched through the streets, he promised the houses and property of his enemies for plunder. He convened the senate for the 24th of November, denouncing any senator who should absent himself as an enemy to him and to his country. On the appointed day he was himself absent, being, according to Cicero (Phil. 3. 8, 20), too drunk to make his appearance. He summoned another meeting in the Capitol for the 28th, at which he forbade three tribunes, whom he knew to be hostile to him, to be present.

The object of the meeting was to denounce the conduct of Octavianus, but when the day arrived his resolution failed him, and the only proposal laid before the senate was for a 'supplicatio' in honour of M. Lepidus. In the midst of the debate on this, a message reached him that the fourth legion had openly declared in favour of Octavianus and joined the Martia, which had already taken up a position at Alba. Feeling that to stay in Rome was dangerous, he took a hurried division on the question before the senate, and hastened to Alba, in hopes of yet recovering the allegiance of his troops. Finding the gates shut against him, he proceeded to Tibur, and confirming the fidelity of the forces there by a present of 2000 sesterces to

every soldier, he set forth at their head towards Cisalpine Gaul, with a view of dispossessing Decimus Brutus of his province.

At this juncture Cicero published his second oration, and used the influence which it gave him in strengthening the cause of Octavianus, and inflaming all parties against Antony. On the 20th of December the tribunes, in the absence of both the Consuls, convened the senate for the transaction of some formal business, and to arrange for its safe meeting on the 1st of January; and Cicero availed himself of the occasion to deliver the third Philippic oration.

In it he denounces Antony as a public enemy, declaring that his conduct was worse than that of Tarquin; and having reviewed the lawlessness and cowardice of his proceedings, by which he had forfeited all claim to be regarded as Consul, he exposes the absurdity of his attempt to insult Octavianus by reproaching him with the position of his mother; and ridicules the bad Latin of his proclamations. On the other hand he highly extols the conduct of Octavianus, of Decimus Brutus, and the fourth and Martian legions; and he ends his speech by formally proposing that the thanks of the senate should be given them for what they had done, and that the recent changes in the disposition of the provinces should be annulled. His proposals were accepted by the senate, and A. Hirtius and C. Pansa, the Consuls elect, were instructed to take the earliest possible opportunity for carrying them into effect.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

Serius omnino, patres conscripti, quam tempus rei **1**
publicae postulabat, aliquando tamen convocati sumus: quod 1
flagitabam equidem quotidie, quippe cum bellum nefarium
contra aras et focos, contra vitam fortunasque nostras ab
homine profligato ac perdito non comparari, sed geri iam
viderem. Exspectantur Kalendae Ianuariae, quas non exspectat Antonius, qui in provinciam D. Bruti, summi et
singularis viri, cum exercitu impetum facere conatur; ex
qua se instructum et paratum ad urbem venturum esse
minitatur. Quae est igitur exspectatio aut quae vel minimi 2
dilatio temporis? quamquam enim adsunt Kalendae Ianuariae,
tamen breve tempus longum est imparatis. Dies enim affert
vel hora potius, si nihil provisum est, magnas saepe clades.
Certus autem dies non ut sacrificiis, sic consiliis exspectari
solet.

Quod si aut Kalendae Ianuariae fuissent eo die, quo primum ex urbe fugit Antonius, aut eae non essent exspectatae, bellum iam nullum haberemus. Auctoritate enim senatus consensuque populi Romani facile hominis amentis fregissemus audaciam. Quod confido equidem consules designatos,

simul ut magistratum inierint, esse facturos; sunt enim optimo animo, summo consilio, singulari concordia: mea autem festinatio non victoriae solum avida est, sed etiam celeritatis.

3 Quo enim usque tantum bellum, tam crudele, tam nefarium privatis consiliis propulsabitur? cur non quam primum
2 publica accedit auctoritas? C. Caesar adolescens, paene potius puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, cum maxime furor arderet Antonii cumque eius a Brundisio crudelis et pestifer reditus timeretur, nec postulantibus nec cogitantibus, ne optantibus quidem nobis quia non posse fieri videbatur, firmissimum exercitum ex invicto genere veteranorum militum comparavit patrimoniumque suum effudit: quamquam non sum usus eo verbo quo debui; non
4 enim effudit: in rei publicae salute collocavit. Cui quamquam gratia referri tanta non potest quanta debetur, habenda tamen est tanta, quantam maximam animi nostri capere possunt. Quis enim est tam ignarus rerum, tam nihil de re publica cogitans, qui hoc non intelligat, si M. Antonius a Brundisio cum iis copiis, quas se habiturum putabat, Romam, ut minabatur, venire potuisset, nullum genus eum crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse? quippe qui in hospitis tectis Brundisii fortissimos viros optimosque cives iugulari iusserit; quorum ante pedes eius morientium sanguine os uxoris respersum esse constabat. Hac ille crudelitate imbutus, cum multo bonis omnibus veniret iratior, quam illis fuerat, quos trucidarat, cui
5 tandem nostrum aut cui omnino bono pepercisset? Qua peste privato consilio rem publicam—neque enim fieri potuit aliter—Caesar liberavit. Qui nisi in hac re publica natus esset, rem publicam scelere Antonii nullam haberemus. Sic enim perspicio, sic iudico, nisi unus adolescens illius furentes impetus crudelissimosque conatus cohibuisset, rem publicam funditus interituram fuisse. Cui quidem hodierno die, patres

conscripti,—nunc enim primum ita convenimus, ut illius
beneficio possemus ea, quae sentiremus, libere dicere—
tribuenda est auctoritas, ut rem publicam non modo a se
susceptam, sed etiam a nobis commendatam possit defendere.

Nec vero de legione Martia, quoniam longo intervallo 3
loqui nobis de re publica licet, sileri potest. Quis enim 6
unus fortior, quis amicior umquam rei publicae fuit quam
legio Martia universa? quae cum hostem populi Romani An-
tonium iudicasset, comes esse eius amentiae noluit: reliquit
consulem, quod profecto non fecisset, si eum consulem iudi-
casset, quem nihil aliud agere, nihil moliri nisi caedem civium
atque interitum civitatis videret. Atque ea legio consedit Albae.
Quam potuit urbem eligere aut opportuniorem ad res gerundas
aut fideliorem aut fortium virorum aut amicorum rei publicae
civium? Huius legionis virtutem imitata quarta legio duce 7
L. Egnatuleio quaestore, civi optimo et fortissimo, C. Caesaris
auctoritatem atque exercitum persecuta est. Faciundum est
igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut ea, quae sua sponte clarissi-
mus adolescens atque omnium praestantissimus gessit et
gerit, haec auctoritate nostra comprobentur, veteranorumque,
fortissimorum virorum, tum legionis Martiae quartaeque
mirabilis consensus ad rem publicam recuperandam laude et
testimonio nostro confirmetur, eorumque commoda, honores,
praemia, cum consules designati magistratum inierint, curae
nobis fore hodierno die spondeamus.

Atque ea quidem, quae dixi de Caesare deque eius exercitu, 4
iam diu nota sunt nobis. Virtute enim admirabili Caesaris 8
constantiaque militum veteranorum legionumque earum, quae
optimo iudicio auctoritatem vestram, libertatem populi
Romani, virtutem Caesaris secutae sunt, a cervicibus nostris
est depulsus Antonius. Sed haec, ut dixi, superiora: hoc
vero recens edictum D. Bruti, quod paulo ante propositum
est, certe silentio non potest praeteriri. Pollicetur enim se

provinciam Galliam retenturum in senatus populique Romani potestate. O civem natum rei publicae, memorem sui nominis imitatoremque maiorum! Neque enim Tarquinio expulso maioribus nostris tam fuit optata libertas, quam est
9 depulso iam Antonio retinenda nobis. Illi regibus parere iam a condita urbe didicerant: nos post reges exactos servitutis oblivio ceperat. Atque ille Tarquinius, quem maiores nostri non tulerunt, non crudelis, non impius, sed superbus est habitus et dictus: quod nos vitium in privatis saepe tulimus, id maiores nostri ne in rege quidem ferre potuerunt. L. Brutus regem superbum non tulit: D. Brutus sceleratum atque impium regnare patietur Antonium? Quid Tarquinius tale, qualia innumerabilia et facit et fecit Antonius? Senatum etiam reges habebant: nec tamen, ut Antonio senatum habente, in consilio regis versabantur barbari armati. Servabant auspicia reges; quae hic consul augurque neglexit, neque solum legibus contra auspicia ferendis, sed etiam collega una ferente eo, quem ipse ementitis auspiciis
10 vitiosum fecerat. Quis autem rex umquam fuit tam insignite impudens, ut haberet omnia commoda, beneficia, iura regni venalia? Quam hic immunitatem, quam civitatem, quod praemium non vel singulis hominibus vel civitatibus vel universis provinciis vendidit? Nihil humile de Tarquinio, nihil sordidum accepimus: at vero huius domi inter quasilla pendebatur aurum, numerabatur pecunia; una in domo omnes, quorum intererat, totum imperium populi Romani nundinabantur. Supplicia vero in cives Romanos nulla Tarquinii accepimus: at hic et Suessae iugulavit eos, quos in custodiam dederat, et Brundisii ad trecentos fortissimos viros
11 civesque optimos trucidavit. Postremo Tarquinius pro populo Romano bellum gerebat tum, cum est expulsus: Antonius contra populum Romanum exercitum adducebat tum, cum a legionibus relictus nomen Caesaris exercitumque

pertimuit neglectisque sacrificiis sollemnibus ante lucem vota
ea, quae numquam solveret, nuncupavit, et hoc tempore in
provinciam populi Romani conatur invadere. Maius igitur
a D. Bruto beneficium populus Romanus et habet et
exspectat, quam maiores nostri acceperunt a L. Bruto,
principe huius maxime conservandi generis et nominis. Cum **5**
autem omnis servitus est misera, tum vero intolerabilis est 12
servire impuro, impudico, effeminato, numquam ne in metu
quidem sobrio. Hunc igitur qui Gallia prohibet, privato
praesertim consilio, iudicat verissimeque iudicat non esse
consulem. Faciendum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut
D. Bruti privatum consilium auctoritate publica comprobemus.
Nec vero M. Antonium consulem post Lupercalia debuistis
putare. Quo enim ille die populo Romano inspectante
nudus, unctus, ebrius est contionatus et id egit ut collegae
diadema imponeret, eo die se non modo consulatu, sed etiam
libertate abdicavit. Esset enim ipsi certe statim serviendum,
si Caesar ab eo regni insignia accipere voluisset. Hunc
igitur ego consulem, hunc civem Romanum, hunc liberum,
hunc denique hominem putem, qui foedo illo et flagitioso die
et quid pati C. Caesare vivo posset et quid eo mortuo consequi
ipse cuperet ostendit? Nec vero de virtute, constantia, 13
gravitate provinciae Galliae taceri potest. Est enim ille flos
Italiae, illud firmamentum imperii populi Romani, illud
ornamentum dignitatis. Tantus autem est consensus munici-
piorum coloniarumque provinciae Galliae, ut omnes ad
auctoritatem huius ordinis maiestatemque populi Romani
defendendam conspirasse videantur. Quam ob rem, tribuni
pl., quamquam vos nihil aliud nisi de praesidio, ut senatum
tuto consules Kalendis Ianuariis habere possent, rettulistis,
tamen mihi videmini magno consilio atque optima mente
potestatem nobis de tota re publica fecisse dicendi. Cum
enim tuto haberi senatum sine praesidio non posse iudicavistis,

tum statuistis etiam intra muros Antonii scelus audaciamque
versari.

6 Quam ob rem omnia mea sententia complectar, vobis, ut
14 intelligo, non invitis, ut et praestantissimis ducibus a nobis
detur auctoritas, et fortissimis militibus spes ostendatur
praemiorum, et iudicetur non verbo, sed re non modo non
consul, sed etiam hostis Antonius. Nam si ille consul,
fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consulem reliquerunt;
sceleratus Caesar, Brutus nefarius, qui contra consulem privato
consilio exercitus comparaverunt: si autem militibus exqui-
rendi sunt honores novi propter eorum divinum atque immor-
tale meritum, ducibus autem ne referri quidem potest gratia,
quis est qui eum hostem non existimet, quem qui armis per-
15 sequantur, conservatores rei publicae iudicantur? At quam
contumeliosus in edictis! quam barbarus! quam rudis!
Primum in Caesarem maledicta congessit deprompta ex
recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum. Quis enim
hoc adolescente castior? quis modestior? quod in iuventute
habemus illustrius exemplum veteris sanctitatis? quis autem
illo, qui male dicit, impurior? Ignobilitatem obiicit C. Cae-
saris filio, cuius etiam natura pater, si vita suppeditasset, con-
sul factus esset.—Aricina mater.—Trallianam aut Ephesiam
putes dicere. Videte quam despiciamur omnes, qui sumus e
municipiis, id est omnes plane: quotus enim quisque nostrum
non est? Quod autem municipium non contemnit is, qui
Aricinum tanto opere despicit, vetustate antiquissimum, iure
foederatum, propinquitate paene finitimum, splendore
16 municipum honestissimum? Hinc Voconiae, hinc Atiniae
leges; hinc multae sellae curules et patrum memoria et
nostra; hinc equites Romani lautissimi et plurimi. Sed si
Aricinam uxorem non probas, cur probas Tusculanam?
Quamquam huius sanctissimae feminae atque optimae pater,
M. Atius Balbus, in primis honestus, praetorius fuit: tuae

coniugis, bonae feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius, qui propter haesitantiam linguae stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia traxerat.—At avus nobilis.—Tuditanus nempe ille, qui cum palla et cothurnis nummos populo de rostris spargere solebat. Vellem hanc contemptionem pecuniae suis reliquisset! Habetis nobilitatem generis 17
gloriosam. Qui autem evenit ut tibi † Iulia natus ignobilis videatur, cum tu eodem materno genere soleas gloriari? Quae porro amentia est eum dicere aliquid de uxorum ignobilitate, cuius pater Numitoriam Fregellanam, proditoris filiam, habuerit uxorem, ipse ex libertini filia susceperit liberos? Sed hoc clarissimi viri viderint, L. Philippus, qui habet Aricinam uxorem, C. Marcellus, qui Aricinae filiam: quos certo scio dignitatis optimarum feminarum non paenitere. Idem etiam Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium, compel- **7**
lat edicto, nec sentit amens commendationem esse compellationem suam. Quid enim accidere huic adolescenti potuit optatius quam cognosci ab omnibus Caesaris consiliorum esse socium, Antonii furoris inimicum? At etiam gladiator ausus 18
est scribere hunc de patris et patrui parricidio cogitasse. O admirabilem impudentiam, audaciam, temeritatem! in eum adolescentem hoc scribere audere, quem ego et frater meus propter eius suavissimos atque optimos mores praestantissimumque ingenium certatim amamus omnibusque horis oculis, auribus, complexu tenemus! Nam me isdem edictis nescit laedat an laudet. Cum idem supplicium minatur optimis civibus, quod ego de sceleratissimis ac pessimis sumpserim, laudare videtur, quasi imitari velit: cum autem illam pulcherrimi facti memoriam refricat, tum a sui similibus invidiam aliquam in me commoveri putat.

Sed quid fecit ipse? Cum tot edicta posuisset, edixit ut **8**
adesset senatus frequens a. d. viii Kalendas Decembres: 19

eo die ipse non adfuit. At quo modo edixit? Haec sunt, ut opinor, verba in extremo: S i q u i s n o n a d f u e r i t, h u n c e x i s t i m a r e o m n e s p o t e r u n t e t i n t e r i t u s m e i e t p e r d i t i s s i m o r u m c o n s i l i o r u m a u c t o r e m f u i s s e. Quae sunt perdita consilia? an ea, quae pertineant ad libertatem populi Romani recuperandam? quorum consiliorum Caesari me auctorem et hortatorem et esse et fuisse fateor. Quamquam ille non eguit consilio cuiusquam, sed tamen currentem, ut dicitur, incitavi. Nam interitus quidem tui quis bonus non esset auctor, cum eo salus et vita optimi cuiusque,
20 libertas populi Romani dignitasque consisteret? Sed cum tam atroci edicto nos concitavisset, cur ipse non adfuit? Num putatis aliqua re tristi ac severa? vino atque epulis retentus, si illae epulae potius quam popinae nominandae sunt. Diem edicti obire neglexit: in ante diem quartum Kalendas Decembres distulit. Adesse in Capitolio iussit: quod in templum ipse nescio qua per Gallorum cuniculum adscendit. Convenerunt corrogati, et quidem ampli quidam homines, sed immemores dignitatis suae. Is enim erat dies, ea fama, is qui senatum vocarat, ut turpe senatori esset nihil timere. Ad eos tamen ipsos, qui convenerant, ne verbum quidem ausus est facere de Caesare, cum de eo constituisset ad senatum referre: scriptam attulerat consularis quidam
21 sententiam. Quid est aliud de eo referre non audere, qui contra se consulem exercitum duceret, nisi se ipsum hostem iudicare? Necesse erat enim alterutrum esse hostem; nec poterat aliter de adversariis iudicari ducibus. Si igitur Caesar hostis, cur consul nihil referat ad senatum? sin ille a senatu notandus non fuit, quid potest dicere, quin, cum de illo tacuerit, se hostem confessus sit? Quem in edictis Spartacum appellat, hunc in senatu ne improbum quidem dicere audet. At in rebus tristissimis quantos
9 excitat risus! Sententiolas edicti cuiusdam memoriae man-

davi, quas videtur ille peracutas putare: ego autem qui in-
telligeret, quid dicere vellet, adhuc neminem inveni. *Nulla*
contumelia est, quam facit dignus. Primum quid est 22
dignus? nam etiam malo multi digni, sicut ipse. An
quam facit is, qui cum dignitate est? quae autem potest
esse maior? Quid est porro *facere contumeliam?* quis
sic loquitur? Deinde: *nec timor, quem denuntiat*
inimicus. Quid ergo? ab amico timor denuntiari solet?
Horum similia deinceps. Nonne satius est mutum esse
quam quod nemo intelligat dicere? En, cur magister eius
ex oratore arator factus sit, possideat in agro publico campi
Leontini duo milia iugerum immunia, ut hominem stupidum
magis etiam infatuet mercede publica. Sed haec leviora 23
fortasse: illud quaero, cur tam mansuetus in senatu fuerit,
cum in edictis tam ferus fuisset. Quid enim attinuerat L.
Cassio, tribuno pl., fortissimo et constantissimo civi, mortem
denuntiare, si in senatum venisset, D. Carfulenum, bene de
re publica sentientem, senatu vi et minis mortis expellere, Ti.
Canutium, a quo erat honestissimis contentionibus et saepe et
iure vexatus, non templo solum, verum etiam aditu prohibere
Capitolii? Cui senatus consulto ne intercederent verebatur?
De supplicatione, credo, M. Lepidi, clarissimi viri. Atque id
erat periculum, de cuius honore extraordinario quotidie aliquid
cogitabamus, ne eius usitatus honos impediretur. Ac ne sine 24
causa videretur edixisse ut senatus adesset, cum de re publica
relaturus fuisset, allato nuntio de legione quarta mente con-
cidit, et fugere festinans senatus consultum de supplicatione
per discessionem fecit, cum id factum esset antea numquam.

Quae vero profectio postea! quod iter paludati! quae **10**
vitatio oculorum, lucis, urbis, fori! quam misera fuga!
quam foeda! quam turpis! Praeclara tamen senatus con-
sulta illo ipso die vespertina, provinciarum religiosa sortitio,
divina vero opportunitas, ut, quae cuique apta esset, ea

25 cuique obveniret. Praeclare igitur facitis, tribuni pl., qui de praesidio consulum senatusque referatis, meritoque vestro maximas vobis gratias omnes et agere et habere debemus. Qui enim periculo carere possumus in tanta hominum cupiditate et audacia? ille autem homo afflictus et perditus quae de se exspectat iudicia graviora quam amicorum suorum? Familiarissimus eius, mihi homo coniunctus, L. Lentulus et P. Naso, omni carens cupiditate, nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antonii sortitionem fuisse iudicaverunt. Quod idem fecit L. Philippus, vir patre, avo, maioribus suis dignissimus. In eadem sententia fuit homo summa integritate atque innocentia, C. Turranius. Idem fecit Sp. Oppius; ipsi etiam, qui amicitiam M. Antonii veriti plus ei tribuerunt, quam fortasse vellent, M. Piso, necessarius meus, et vir et civis egregius, parique innocentia M. Vehilius senatus aucto-
26 ritati se obtemperaturos esse dixerunt. Quid ego de L. Cinna loquar? cuius spectata multis magnisque rebus singularis integritas minus admirabilem facit huius honestissimi facti gloriam: qui omnino provinciam neglexit, quam item magno animo et constanti C. Cestius repudiavit. Qui sunt igitur reliqui, quos sors divina delectet? † L. Annius, M. Antonius. O felicem utrumque! nihil enim maluerunt. C. Antonius Macedoniam. Hunc quoque felicem! hanc enim habebat semper in ore provinciam. C. Calvisius Africam. Nihil felicius! modo enim ex Africa decesserat et quasi divinans se rediturum duos legatos Uticae reliquerat. Deinde M. † Cusini Sicilia, Q. Cassii Hispania. Non habeo quid suspicer: duarum credo provinciarum sortes minus
11 divinas fuisse. O C. Caesar—adolescentem appello—,
27 quam tu salutem rei publicae attulisti! quam improvisam! quam repentinam! qui enim haec fugiens fecit, quid faceret insequens? Etenim in contione dixerat se custodem fore urbis seque usque ad Kalendas Maias ad urbem exercitum

habiturum. O praeclarum custodem ovium, ut aiunt, lupum! custosne urbis an direptor et vexator esset Antonius? Et quidem se introiturum in urbem dixit exiturumque, cum vellet. Quid illud? nonne audiente populo sedens pro aede Castoris dixit, nisi qui vicisset, victurum neminem?

Hodierno die primum longo intervallo in possessionem 28 libertatis pedem ponimus: cuius quidem ego, quoad potui, non modo defensor, sed etiam conservator fui. Cum autem id facere non possem, quievi, nec abiecte nec sine aliqua dignitate casum illum temporum et dolorem tuli. Hanc vero taeterrimam beluam quis ferre potest aut quo modo? Quid est in Antonio praeter libidinem, crudelitatem, petulantiam, audaciam? Ex his totus conglutinatus est. Nihil apparet in eo ingenuum, nihil moderatum, nihil pudens, nihil pudicum. Quapropter, quoniam res in id discrimen adducta est, 29 utrum ille poenas rei publicae luat an nos serviamus, aliquando, per deos immortales! patres conscripti, patrium animum virtutemque capiamus, ut aut libertatem propriam Romani et generis et nominis recuperemus aut mortem servituti anteponamus. Multa, quae in libera civitate ferenda non essent, tulimus et perpessi sumus: alii spe forsitan recuperandae libertatis, alii vivendi nimia cupiditate: sed, si illa tulimus, quae nos necessitas ferre coëgit, quae vis quaedam paene fatalis, quae tamen ipsa non tulimus: etiamne huius impuri latronis feremus taeterrimum crudelissimumque dominatum? Quid hic faciet, si poterit, iratus, qui cum suscen- **12** sere nemini posset, omnibus bonis fuerit inimicus? quid hic 30 victor non audebit, qui nullam adeptus victoriam tanta scelera post Caesaris interitum fecerit? refertam eius domum exhauserit? hortos compilaverit? ad se ex iis omnia ornamenta transtulerit? caedis et incendiorum causam quaesierit ex funere? duobus aut tribus senatus consultis bene et e re publica factis reliquas res ad lucrum praedamque

revocaverit? vendiderit immunitates? civitates liberaverit?
provincias universas ex imperii populi Romani iure sustulerit?
exsules reduxerit? falsas leges C. Caesaris nomine et falsa
decreta in aes incidenda et in Capitolio figenda curaverit
earumque rerum omnium domesticum mercatum instituerit?
populo Romano leges imposuerit? armis et praesidiis
populum et magistratus foro excluserit, senatum stiparit
[armatis]? armatos in cella Concordiae, cum senatum
haberet, incluserit? ad legiones Brundisium cucurrerit? ex
iis optime sentientes centuriones iugulaverit? cum exercitu
Romam sit ad interitum nostrum et ad dispersionem urbis
31 venire conatus? Atque is ab hoc impetu abstractus consilio
et copiis Caesaris, consensu veteranorum, virtute legionum, ne
fortuna quidem fractus minuit audaciam, nec ruere demens
nec furere desinit. In Galliam mutilatum ducit exercitum,
cum una legione et ea vaccillante L. fratrem exspectat, quo
neminem reperire potest sui similiorem. Ille autem ex
myrmillone dux, ex gladiatore imperator, quas effecit strages,
ubicumque posuit vestigium! Fundit apothecas, caedit greges
armentorum reliquique pecoris, quodcumque nactus est;
epulantur milites; ipse autem se, ut fratrem imitetur, obruit
vino; vastantur agri, diripiuntur villae, matres familiae,
virgines, pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibus traduntur. Haec
13 eadem, quacumque exercitum duxit, fecit M. Antonius. His
32 vos taeterrimis fratribus portas aperietis? hos umquam in
urbem recipietis? non tempore oblato, ducibus paratis,
animis militum incitatis, populo Romano conspirante, Italia
tota ad libertatem recuperandam excitata, deorum immor-
talium beneficio utemini? Nullum erit tempus hoc amisso.
A tergo, fronte, lateribus tenebitur, si in Galliam venerit.
Nec ille armis solum, sed etiam decretis nostris urguendus
est. Magna vis est, magnum numen unum et idem sentien-
tis senatus. Videtisne refertum forum populumque Romanum

ad spem recuperandae libertatis erectum? qui longo inter-
vallo cum frequentes hic videt nos, tum sperat etiam liberos
convenisse. Hunc ego diem exspectans M. Antonii scelerata 33
arma vitavi tum, cum ille in me absentem invehens non
intelligebat, ad quod tempus me et meas vires reservarem.
Si enim tum illi caedis a me initium quaerenti respondere
voluissem, nunc rei publicae consulere non possem. Hanc
vero nactus facultatem, nullum tempus, patres conscripti,
dimittam neque diurnum neque nocturnum, quin de libertate
populi Romani et dignitate vestra quod cogitandum sit
cogitem, quod agendum atque faciendum, id non modo non
recusem, sed etiam appetam atque deposcam. Hoc feci,
dum licuit: intermisi, quoad non licuit. Iam non solum
licet, sed etiam necesse est, nisi servire malumus quam, ne
serviamus, armis animisque decernere. Di immortales nobis 34
haec praesidia dederunt: urbi Caesarem, Brutum Galliae. Si
enim ille opprimere urbem potuisset, statim, si Galliam tenere,
paulo post optimo cuique pereundum erat, reliquis servien-
dum. Hanc igitur occasionem oblatam tenete, per deos **14**
immortales! patres conscripti, et amplissimi orbis terrae
consilii principes vos esse aliquando recordamini. Signum
date populo Romano consilium vestrum non deesse rei
publicae, quoniam ille virtutem suam non defuturam esse
profitetur. Nihil est quod moneam vos. Nemo est tam
stultus qui non intelligat, si indormierimus huic tempori,
non modo crudelem superbamque dominationem nobis, sed
ignominiosam etiam et flagitiosam ferendam esse. Nostis 35
insolentiam Antonii, nostis amicos, nostis totam domum.
Libidinosis, petulantibus, impuris, impudicis, aleatoribus,
ebriis servire, ea summa miseria est summo dedecore con-
iuncta. Quod si iam—quod di omen avertant!—fatum
extremum rei publicae venit, quod gladiatores nobiles faciunt
ut honeste decumbant, faciamus nos, principes orbis terrarum

gentiumque omnium, ut cum dignitate potius cadamus quam
36 cum ignominia serviamus. Nihil est detestabilius dedecore, nihil foedius servitute. Ad decus et ad libertatem nati sumus: aut haec teneamus aut cum dignitate moriamur. Nimium diu teximus quid sentiremus: nunc iam apertum est; omnes patefaciunt, in utramque partem quid sentiat, quid velit. Sunt impii cives, sed pro caritate rei publicae nimium multi, contra multitudinem bene sentientium admodum pauci: quorum opprimendorum di immortales incredibilem rei publicae potestatem et fortunam dederunt. Ad ea enim praesidia, quae habemus, iam accedent consules summa prudentia, virtute, concordia, multos menses de rei publicae libertate commentati atque meditati. His auctoribus et ducibus, dis iuvantibus, nobis vigilantibus et multum in posterum providentibus, populo Romano consentiente, erimus profecto liberi brevi tempore. Iucundiorem autem faciet libertatem servitutis recordatio.

15 Quas ob res, quod tribuni pl. verba fecerunt, uti senatus
37 Kalendis Ianuariis tuto haberi sententiaeque de summa re publica libere dici possint, de ea re ita censeo, uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius, consules designati, dent operam uti senatus Kalendis Ianuariis tuto haberi possit: quodque edictum D. Bruti, imperatoris, consulis designati, propositum sit, senatum existimare D. Brutum, imperatorem, consulem designatum, optime de re publica mereri, cum senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem imperiumque defendat:
38 quodque provinciam Galliam citeriorem, optimorum et fortissimorum amicissimorumque rei publicae civium, exercitumque in senatus potestate retineat, id eum exercitumque eius, municipia, colonias provinciae Galliae recte atque ordine exque re publica fecisse et facere: senatum ad summam rem publicam pertinere arbitrari ab D. Bruto et L. Planco, imperatoribus, consulibus designatis, itemque a ceteris, qui

provincias obtinent, obtineri ex lege Iulia, quoad ex senatus consulto cuique eorum successum sit; eosque dare operam ut eae provinciae atque exercitus in senati populique potestate praesidioque rei publicae sint: cumque opera, virtute, consilio C. Caesaris summoque consensu militum veteranorum, qui eius auctoritatem secuti rei publicae praesidio sunt et fuerunt, a gravissimis periculis populus Romanus defensus sit et hoc tempore defendatur; cumque legio Martia Albae constiterit, 39
in municipio fidelissimo et fortissimo, seseque ad senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem contulerit; et quod pari consilio eademque virtute legio quarta usa L. Egnatuleio duce, civi egregio, senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem defendat ac defenderit: senatui magnae curae esse ac fore, ut pro tantis eorum in rem publicam meritis honores eis habeantur gratiaeque referantur: senatui placere uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius, consules designati, cum magistratum inissent, si eis videretur, primo quoque tempore de his rebus ad hunc ordinem referrent, ita uti e re publica fideque sua videretur.

INTRODUCTION TO THE FIFTH ORATION

THE fourth oration was a 'contio ad populum,' in which Cicero, after the debate in the senate on the 20th of December, 43 B.C., explains to the people the course that had eventually been agreed upon. No immediate action, however, could be taken, as it was necessary to wait till the new Consuls, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, entered on office on the 1st of January, 43 B.C. Meanwhile Antony had marched upon Cisalpine Gaul, whereupon D. Brutus threw himself into Mutina, the modern Modena, resolved to stand a siege rather than surrender his province; and Octavianus, at the head of a considerable force, including Antony's two revolted legions, was marching to attack him in the rear. If the new Consuls proved vigorous in attacking Antony, his cause was hopeless, and Cicero was using all his influence to induce them to adopt an energetic policy. On the other hand, they were both staunch adherents of Caesar, who had given them all the position which they held in the state, and therefore they were not likely to be very warm in supporting the cause of one of his assassins, against the man who professed to be upholding all his measures. Hence, though Cicero speaks in public as though they could be thoroughly depended on, yet we learn from his letters that he did not wholly trust them. (Att. 15. 6 and 22.) And this distrust was justified by the proceedings in the senate on the 1st of January. The Consuls themselves indeed adopted a firm and manly tone, which excited Cicero's hopes, but then they called on Q. Fufius Calenus to deliver his opinion first among the consulars. It has been

commonly thought that giving him this precedence was a matter of private arrangement; but be this as it may (see on c. 1, 1), at any rate he was Pansa's father-in-law, and might be reasonably supposed to represent the real feelings of the Consul, which his official position forced him in some degree to suppress in his own speech. He was not only a firm partisan of the dictator, but a personal enemy of Cicero (Att. 11. 8, 2), and so closely allied to the cause of Antony, that he was acting as his representative in Rome, and Fulvia and her children were actually staying at his house. He proposed that Antony should not yet be treated as a public enemy, but that ambassadors should be sent to him, to bring him back, if possible, to his allegiance to the senate. This motion was supported by L. Piso and some other consulars, and it was against it that Cicero delivered his fifth oration.

In this he urges that it would be in the highest degree inconsistent, and unworthy of the dignity of the senate to enter into negotiations with a man whom, a few days before, they had virtually declared to be a public enemy, by voting their thanks to the legions who had deserted him, and to the generals who had taken on themselves to act against him. He passes in review once more the conduct of Antony since the dictator's death; his wanton forgeries; his various pernicious measures, especially condemning his degradation of the judicial bench; and his unconstitutional conduct in maintaining an armed force within the city walls. He maintains that not merely war, but civil war (*tumultus*) should be proclaimed, that the military dress should be assumed, the courts of justice closed, and a general levy made throughout the whole of Italy. He concludes by renewing his proposal of thanks and honours to D. Brutus and Octavianus, and the soldiers under their command.

The debate was continued for the unusual period of four days, and it appears that Cicero would have had a large majority, had not Salvius, a tribune of the commons, interposed his veto, and prevented the motion for declaring Antony a public enemy from being voted on. The proposal of Calenus was then adopted; Servius Sulpicius L. Piso and L. Philippus were appointed

ambassadors to treat with Antony; and Cicero so far prevailed that he was entrusted with the drawing out of their commission. They were instructed to call on Antony to raise the siege of Mutina, to cease from further hostilities against D. Brutus, and from all attempts upon the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and to submit himself in all respects to the authority of the senate and the Roman people. If he refused submission on any single point, he was to be treated as a public enemy.

The rest of the proposals in Cicero's motion, with reference to the honours to be bestowed on Brutus and Octavianus and their armies, were carried without opposition.

At the close of the debate in the senate on the 4th of January, Cicero came out into the Forum, and being introduced to the multitude by P. Apuleius, a tribune of the commons, he told them what had happened. The Contio thus delivered forms the sixth Philippic oration, and is in great measure a summary of the fifth.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER QUINTUS.

Nihil umquam longius his Kalendis Ianuariis mihi visum **1**
est, patres conscripti: quod idem intelligebam per hos dies 1
uni cuique vestrum videri. Qui enim bellum cum re publica gerunt, hunc diem non exspectabant. Nos autem tum, cum maxime consilio nostro subvenire communi saluti oporteret, in senatum non vocabamur. Sed querellam praeteritorum dierum sustulit oratio consulum; qui ita locuti sunt, ut magis exoptatae Kalendae quam serae esse videantur. Atque ut oratio consulum animum meum erexit spemque attulit non modo salutis conservandae, verum etiam dignitatis pristinae recuperandae, sic me perturbasset eius sententia, qui primus rogatus est, nisi vestrae virtuti constantiaeque confiderem.
Hic enim dies vobis, patres conscripti, illuxit, haec potestas 2
data est, ut quantum virtutis, quantum constantiae, quantum gravitatis in huius ordinis consilio esset, populo Romano declarare possetis. Recordamini qui dies nudius tertius decimus fuerit, quantus consensus vestrum, quanta virtus, quanta constantia; quantam sitis a populo Romano laudem, quantam gloriam, quantam gratiam consecuti. Atque illo die, patres conscripti, ea constituistis, ut vobis iam nihil sit

3 integrum nisi aut honesta pax aut bellum necessarium. Pacem
vult M. Antonius? Arma deponat, roget, deprecetur. Nemi-
nem aequiorem reperiet quam me, cui, dum se civibus impiis
commendat, inimicus quam amicus esse maluit. Nihil est
profecto, quod possit dari bellum gerenti: erit fortasse
aliquid, quod concedi possit roganti: legatos vero ad eum
mittere, de quo gravissimum et severissimum iudicium nudius
tertius decimus feceritis, non iam levitatis est, sed, ut quod
2 sentio dicam, dementiae. Primum duces eos laudavistis, qui
contra illum bellum privato consilio suscepissent; deinde
milites veteranos, qui cum ab Antonio in colonias essent
deducti, illius beneficio libertatem populi Romani ante-
4 posuerunt. Quid? legio Martia, quid? quarta, cur laudantur?
Si enim consulem suum reliquerunt, vituperandae sunt: si
inimicum rei publicae, iure laudantur. Atqui cum consules
nondum haberetis, decrevistis ut de praemiis militum et de
honoribus imperatorum primo quoque tempore referretur.
Placet eodem tempore praemia constituere eis, qui contra
Antonium arma ceperint, et legatos ad Antonium mittere?
ut iam pudendum sit honestiora decreta esse legionum quam
senatus: si quidem legiones decreverunt senatum defendere
contra Antonium, senatus decernit legatos ad Antonium.
Utrum hoc est confirmare militum animos an debilitare
5 virtutem? Hoc dies duodecim profecerunt, ut, quem nemo
praeter Cotylam inventus sit qui defenderet, is habeat iam
patronos etiam consulares. Qui utinam omnes ante me
sententiam rogarentur!—quamquam suspicor, quid dicturi
sint quidam eorum, qui post me rogabuntur—: facilius contra
dicerem, si quid videretur. Est enim opinio decreturum
aliquem Antonio illam ultimam Galliam, quam Plancus
obtinet. Quid est aliud omnia ad bellum civile hosti arma
largiri? primum nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam, qua nunc
eget, deinde equitatum, quantum velit. Equitatum dico?

dubitabit, credo, gentes barbaras secum adducere. Hoc qui
non videt, excors, qui cum videt decernit, impius est. Tu 6
civem sceleratum et perditum Gallorum et Germanorum
pecunia, peditatu, equitatu, copiis instrues? Nullae istae
excusationes sunt: 'meus amicus est:' sit patriae prius.
'Meus cognatus.' An potest cognatio propior ulla esse
quam patriae, in qua parentes etiam continentur? 'Mihi
pecuniam tribuit.' Cupio videre qui id audeat dicere. Quid
autem agatur cum aperuero, facile erit statuere quam senten-
tiam dicatis aut quam sequamini.

Agitur, utrum M. Antonio facultas detur opprimendae rei **3**
publicae, caedis faciendae bonorum, urbis dividundae, agrorum
suis latronibus condonandi, populum Romanum servitute
opprimendi, an horum ei facere nihil liceat. Dubitate quid
agatis. At non cadunt haec in Antonium. Hoc ne Cotyla 7
quidem dicere auderet. Quid enim in eum non cadit? qui,
cuius acta se defendere dicit, eius eas leges pervertit, quas
maxime laudare poteramus. Ille paludes siccare voluit: hic
omnem Italiam moderato homini, L. Antonio, dividundam
dedit. Quid? hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? quid?
per auspicia ferri potuit? Sed augur verecundus sine collegis
de auspiciis: quamquam illa auspicia non egent interpre-
tatione; Iove enim tonante cum populo agi non esse fas
quis ignorat? Tribuni plebi tulerunt de provinciis contra
acta C. Caesaris: ille biennium, iste sexennium. Etiam
hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? quid? promulgata
fuit? quid? non ante lata quam scripta est? quid? non
ante factum vidimus quam futurum quisquam est suspicatus?
Ubi lex Caecilia et Didia? ubi promulgatio trinum nundinum? 8
ubi poena recenti lege Iunia et Licinia? Possuntne hae leges
esse ratae sine interitu legum reliquarum? Eccui potestas in
forum insinuandi fuit? Quae porro illa tonitrua! quae tem-
pestas! ut, si auspicia M. Antonium non moverent, sustinere

tamen eum ac ferre posse tantam vim tempestatis, imbris ac
turbinum, mirum videretur. Quam legem igitur se augur
dicit tulisse non modo tonante Iove, sed prope caelesti
clamore prohibente, hanc dubitabit contra auspicia latam
9 confiteri? Quid? quod cum eo collega tulit, quem ipse fecit
sua nuntiatione vitiosum, nihilne ad auspicia bonus augur
4 pertinere arbitratus est? Sed auspiciorum nos fortasse erimus
interpretes, qui sumus eius collegae. Num ergo etiam
armorum interpretes quaerimus? Primum omnes fori aditus
ita saepti, ut, etiam si nemo obstaret armatus, tamen nisi
saeptis revulsis introiri in forum nullo modo posset: sic vero
erant disposita praesidia, ut, quo modo hostium aditus urbe
prohibentur, ita castellis et operibus ab ingressione fori
10 populum tribunosque plebi propulsari videres. Quibus de
causis eas leges, quas M. Antonius tulisse dicitur, omnes
censeo per vim et contra auspicia latas iisque legibus populum
non teneri. Si quam legem de actis Caesaris confirmandis
deve dictatura in perpetuum tollenda deve colonis in agros
deducendis tulisse M. Antonius dicitur, easdem leges de
integro, ut populum teneant, salvis auspiciis ferri placet.
Quamvis enim res bonas vitiose per vimque tulerit, tamen
eae leges non sunt habendae, omnisque audacia gladiatoris
11 amentis auctoritate nostra repudianda est. Illa vero dissi-
patio pecuniae publicae ferenda nullo modo est, per quam
sestertium septiens miliens falsis perscriptionibus donationi-
busque avertit, ut portenti simile videatur tantam pecuniam
populi Romani tam brevi tempore perire potuisse. Quid?
illi immanes quaestus ferendine, quos M. Antonii tota ex-
hausit domus? Decreta falsa vendebat, regna, civitates,
immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iubebat incidi. Haec se
ex commentariis C. Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere
dicebat. Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius rei publicae
nundinae; mulier, sibi felicior quam viris, auctionem provin-

ciarum regnorumque faciebat; restituebantur exsules quasi lege
sine lege: quae nisi auctoritate senatus rescinduntur, quoniam
ingressi in spem rei publicae recuperandae sumus, imago
nulla liberae civitatis relinquetur. Neque solum commen- 12
tariis commenticiis chirographisque venalibus innumerabilis
pecunia congesta in illam domum est, cum, quae vendebat
Antonius, ea se ex actis Caesaris agere diceret, sed senatus
etiam consulta pecunia accepta falsa referebat; syngraphae
obsignabantur; senatus consulta numquam facta ad aerarium
deferebantur. Huius turpitudinis testes erant etiam exterae
nationes. Foedera interea facta, regna data, populi pro-
vinciaeque liberatae, ipsarumque rerum falsae tabulae gemente
populo Romano toto Capitolio figebantur. Quibus rebus
tanta pecunia una in domo coacervata est, ut, si hoc † genus
pene in unum redigatur, non sit pecunia rei publicae defutura.

Legem etiam iudiciariam tulit, homo castus atque integer, **5**
iudiciorum et iuris auctor. In quo nos fefellit. Antesignanos
et manipulares et Alaudas iudices se constituisse dicebat.
At ille legit aleatores, legit exsules, legit Graecos. O con-
sessum iudicum praeclarum! o dignitatem consilii admiran-
dam! Avet animus apud consilium illud pro reo dicere. 13
Cydam Cretensem, portentum insulae, hominem audacis-
simum et perditissimum. Sed fac non esse: num Latine
scit? num est ex iudicum genere et forma? num, quod
maximum est, leges nostras moresve novit? num denique
homines? est enim Creta vobis notior quam Roma
Cydae; dilectus autem et notatio iudicum etiam in
nostris civibus haberi solet. Cortynium vero iudicem quis
novit aut quis nosse potuit? Nam Lysiaden Atheniensem
plerique novimus; est enim Phaedri, philosophi nobilis,
filius, homo praeterea festivus, ut ei cum Curio, consessore
eodemque collusore, facillime possit convenire. Quaero 14
igitur, si Lysiades citatus iudex non responderit excuseturque

Areopagites esse nec debere eodem tempore Romae et
Athenis res iudicare: accipietne excusationem is, qui
quaestioni praeerit, Graeculi iudicis, modo palliati, modo
togati? an Atheniensium antiquissimas leges negliget? Qui
porro ille consessus, di boni! Cretensis iudex, isque nequis-
simus. Quem ad modum ad hunc reus alleget? quo modo
accedat? dura natio est. At Athenienses misericordes. Puto
ne Curium quidem esse crudelem, qui periculum fortunae
quotidie facit. Sunt item lecti iudices, qui fortasse excusa-
buntur; habent enim legitimam excusationem, exsilii causa
15 solum vertisse nec esse postea restitutos. Hos ille demens
iudices legisset, horum nomina ad aerarium detulisset, his
magnam partem rei publicae credidisset, si ullam speciem
6 rei publicae cogitavisset? Atque ego de notis iudicibus dixi:
quos minus nostis, nolui nominare: saltatores, citharistas,
totum denique comissationis Antonianae chorum in tertiam
decuriam iudicum scitote esse coniectum. En causam cur
lex tam egregia tamque praeclara maximo imbri, tempestate,
ventis, procellis, turbinibus, inter fulmina et tonitrua ferretur,
ut eos iudices haberemus, quos hospites habere nemo velit.
Scelerum magnitudo, conscientia maleficiorum, direptio eius
pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est, hanc tertiam
decuriam excogitavit: nec ante turpes iudices quaesiti quam
16 honestis iudicibus nocentium salus desperata est. Sed illud
os, illam impuritatem caeni fuisse, ut hos iudices legere
auderet! quorum lectione duplex imprimeretur rei publicae
dedecus: unum, quod tam turpes iudices essent; alterum,
quod patefactum cognitumque esset, quam multos in civitate
turpes haberemus. Hanc ergo et reliquas eius modi leges,
etiam si sine vi salvis auspiciis essent rogatae, censerem
tamen abrogandas: nunc vero cur abrogandas censeam,
quas iudico non rogatas?

17 An illa non gravissimis ignominiis monumentisque huius

ordinis ad posteritatis memoriam sunt notanda, quod unus M. Antonius in hac urbe post conditam urbem palam secum habuerit armatos? quod neque reges nostri fecerunt neque ii, qui regibus exactis regnum occupare voluerunt. Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam, modo Caesarem: hi enim tres post civitatem a L. Bruto liberatam plus potuerunt quam universa res publica. Non possum affirmare nullis telis eos stipatos fuisse: hoc dico nec multis et occultis. At hanc pestem 18
agmen armatorum sequebatur: Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similes greges ducebant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cum autem erat ventum ad aedem Concordiae, gradus complebantur, lecticae collocabantur, non quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipsi ferrent, laborarent. Illud vero taeterrimum non modo adspectu, sed etiam auditu, **7**
in cella Concordiae collocari armatos, latrones, sicarios; de templo carcerem fieri; opertis valvis Concordiae, cum inter subsellia senatus versarentur latrones, patres conscriptos sententias dicere. Huc nisi venirem Kalendis Septembribus, 19
etiam fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit. Magna res, credo, agebatur: de supplicatione referebat. Veni postridie: ipse non venit. Locutus sum de re publica, minus equidem libere quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi minae postulabant. At ille homo vehemens et violentus, qui hanc consuetudinem libere dicendi excluderet—fecerat enim hoc idem maxima cum laude L. Piso triginta diebus ante—, inimicitias mihi denuntiavit; adesse in senatum iussit a. d. XIII Kalendas Octobres. Ipse interea septemdecim dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis declamitavit, sitim quaerens: haec enim ei causa esse declamandi solet. Cum is dies, quo me adesse iusserat, 20
venisset, tum vero agmine quadrato in aedem Concordiae venit atque in me absentem orationem ex ore impurissimo

evomuit. Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti in senatum
venire licuisset, caedis initium fecisset a me; sic enim
statuerat. Cum autem semel gladium scelere imbuisset nulla
res ei finem caedendi nisi defatigatio et satietas attulisset.
Etenim aderat Lucius frater, gladiator Asiaticus, qui myr-
millo Mylasis depugnarat; sanguinem nostrum sitiebat, suum
in illa gladiatoria pugna multum profuderat. Hic pecunias
vestras aestimabat; possessiones notabat et urbanas et
rusticas; huius mendicitas aviditate coniuncta in fortunas
nostras imminebat; dividebat agros quibus et quos volebat;
nullus aditus erat privato, nulla aequitatis deprecatio: tantum
quisque habebat possessor, quantum reliquerat divisor
21 Antonius. Quae quamquam, si leges irritas feceritis, rata
esse non possunt, tamen separatim suo nomine notanda
censeo, iudicandumque nullos septemviros fuisse, nihil placere
ratum esse, quod ab iis actum diceretur.

8 M. vero Antonium quis est qui civem possit iudicare potius
quam taeterrimum et crudelissimum hostem, qui pro aede
Castoris sedens audiente populo Romano dixerit, nisi victorem
victurum neminem? Num putatis, patres conscripti, dixisse
eum minacius quam facturum fuisse? Quid vero, quod in
contione dicere ausus est, se, cum magistratu abisset, ad
urbem futurum cum exercitu, introiturum quotienscumque
vellet, quid erat aliud nisi denuntiare populo Romano
22 servitutem? Quod autem eius iter Brundisium! quae festi-
natio! quae spes, nisi ad urbem vel in urbem potius exercitum
maximum adduceret? Qui autem dilectus centurionum!
quae effrenatio impotentis animi! Cum eius promissis
legiones fortissimae reclamassent, domum ad se venire
iussit centuriones, quos bene sentire de re publica cognoverat,
eosque ante pedes suos uxorisque suae, quam secum gravis
imperator ad exercitum duxerat, iugulari coëgit. Quo animo
hunc futurum fuisse censetis in nos, quos oderat, cum in eos,

quos numquam viderat, tam crudelis fuisset? et quam avidum
in pecuniis locupletium, qui pauperum sanguinem con-
cupisset? quorum ipsorum bona, quantacumque erant,
statim suis comitibus compotoribusque descripsit. Atque 23
ille furens infesta iam patriae signa a Brundisio inferebat,
cum C. Caesar deorum immortalium beneficio, divina animi,
ingenii, consilii magnitudine, quamquam sua sponte eximiaque
virtute, tamen approbatione auctoritatis meae colonias patrias
adiit, veteranos milites convocavit, paucis diebus exercitum
fecit, incitatos latronum impetus retardavit. Postea vero
quam legio Martia ducem praestantissimum vidit, nihil egit
aliud nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus: quam est imitata
quarta legio. Quo ille nuntio audito cum senatum vocasset 9
adhibuissetque consularem, qui sua sententia C. Caesarem
hostem iudicaret, repente concidit. Post autem, neque 24
sacrificiis sollemnibus factis neque votis nuncupatis, non
profectus est, sed profugit paludatus. At quo? In provinciam
firmissimorum civium, qui illum, ne si ita quidem venisset,
ut nullum bellum inferret, ferre potuissent, impotentem,
iracundum, contumeliosum, superbum, semper poscentem,
semper rapientem, semper ebrium. At ille, cuius ne pacatam
quidem nequitiam quisquam ferre posset, bellum intulit
provinciae Galliae; circumsedet Mutinam, firmissimam et
splendidissimam populi Romani coloniam; oppugnat D.
Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, civem non sibi,
sed nobis et rei publicae natum. Ergo Hannibal hostis, 25
civis Antonius? Quid ille fecit hostiliter, quod hic non aut
fecerit aut faciat aut moliatur et cogitet? Totum iter
Antoniorum quid habuit nisi depopulationes, vastationes,
caedes, rapinas? quas non faciebat Hannibal, quia multa
ad usum suum reservabat: at hi, qui in horam viverent, non
modo de fortunis et de bonis civium, sed ne de utilitate
quidem sua cogitaverunt.

Ad hunc, di boni! legatos mitti placet? Norunt isti homines formam rei publicae, iura belli, exempla maiorum? cogitant quid populi Romani maiestas, quid senatus severitas postulet? Legatos decernis? Si, ut deprecere, contemnet: si, ut imperes, non audiet: denique quamvis severa legatis mandata dederimus, nomen ipsum legatorum hunc, quem videmus, populi Romani restinguet ardorem, municipiorum atque Italiae franget animos. Ut omittam haec, quae magna sunt, certe ista legatio moram et tarditatem afferet bello.
26 Quamvis dicant, quod quosdam audio dicturos: 'legati proficiscantur: bellum nihilo minus paretur,' tamen legatorum nomen ipsum et animos hominum et belli celeritatem
10 morabitur. Minimis momentis, patres conscripti, maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt, cum in omni casu rei publicae, tum in bello et maxime civili, quod opinione plerumque et fama gubernatur. Nemo quaeret, quibus cum mandatis legatos miserimus: nomen ipsum legationis ultro missae timoris esse signum videbitur. Recedat a Mutina, desinat oppugnare Brutum, decedat ex Gallia: non est verbis
27 rogandus, cogendus est armis. Non enim ad Hannibalem mittimus ut a Sagunto recedat, ad quem miserat olim senatus P. Valerium Flaccum et Q. Baebium Tampilum, qui, si Hannibal non pareret, Karthaginem ire iussi erant:—nostros quo iubemus ire, si non paruerit Antonius?—ad nostrum civem mittimus, ne imperatorem, ne coloniam populi Romani oppugnet. Itane vero? hoc per legatos rogandum est? Quid interest, per deos immortales! utrum hanc urbem oppugnet an huius urbis propugnaculum, coloniam populi Romani praesidii causa collocatam? Belli Punici secundi, quod contra maiores nostros Hannibal gessit, causa fuit Sagunti oppugnatio. Recte ad eum legati missi: mittebantur ad Poenum, mittebantur pro Hannibalis hostibus, nostris sociis. Quid simile tandem? nos ad civem mittimus, ne

imperatorem populi Romani, ne exercitum, ne coloniam circumsedeat, ne oppugnet, ne agros depopuletur, ne sit hostis.

Age, si paruerit, hoc cive uti aut volumus aut possumus? **11**
Ante diem XIII Kalendas Ianuarias decretis vestris eum 28
concidistis: constituistis ut haec ad vos Kalendis Ianuariis
referrentur, quae referri videtis, de honoribus et praemiis
bene de re publica meritorum et merentium: quorum
principem iudicastis eum, qui fuit, C. Caesarem, qui M.
Antonii impetus nefarios ab urbe in Galliam avertit: tum
milites veteranos, qui primi Caesarem secuti sunt, atque illas
caelestes divinasque legiones Martiam et quartam compro-
bastis, quibus, cum consulem suum non modo reliquissent,
sed bello etiam persequerentur, honores et praemia spo-
pondistis: eodemque die D. Bruti, praestantissimi civis,
edicto allato atque proposito, factum eius collaudastis,
quodque ille bellum privato consilio susceperat, id vos
auctoritate publica comprobastis. Quid igitur illo die aliud 29
egistis nisi ut hostem iudicaretis Antonium? His vestris
decretis aut ille vos aequo animo adspicere poterit aut vos
illum sine dolore summo videbitis? Exclusit illum a re
publica, distraxit, segregavit non solum scelus ipsius, sed
etiam, ut mihi videtur, fortuna quaedam rei publicae. Qui
si legatis paruerit Romamque redierit, num umquam perditis
civibus vexillum quo concurrant defuturum putatis? Sed
hoc minus vereor: sunt alia, quae magis timeam et cogitem.
Numquam parebit ille legatis: novi hominis insaniam,
arrogantiam; novi perdita consilia amicorum, quibus ille
est deditus. Lucius quidem frater eius, utpote qui peregre 30
depugnarit, familiam ducit. Sit per se ipse sanus, quod
numquam erit: per hos esse ei tamen non licebit. Teretur
interea tempus, belli apparatus refrigescent. Unde est adhuc
bellum tractum nisi ex retardatione et mora? Ut primum

post discessum latronis vel potius desperatam fugam libere
senatus haberi potuit, semper flagitavi ut convocaremur.
Quo die primum convocati sumus, cum designati consules
non adessent, ieci sententia mea maximo vestro consensu
fundamenta rei publicae, serius omnino quam decuit—nec
enim ante potui—, sed tamen si ex eo tempore dies nullus
31 intermissus esset, bellum profecto nullum haberemus. Omne
malum nascens facile opprimitur: inveteratum fit plerumque
robustius. Sed tum exspectabantur Kalendae Ianuariae,
12 fortasse non recte. Verum praeterita omittamus. Etiamne
hanc moram, dum proficiscantur legati? dum revertantur?
quorum exspectatio dubitationem belli affert: bello autem
dubio quod potest studium esse dilectus?

Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, legatorum mentionem
nullam censeo faciendam; rem administrandam arbitror sine
ulla mora et confestim gerendam censeo; tumultum decerni,
iustitium edici, saga sumi dico oportere, dilectum haberi
sublatis vacationibus in urbe et in Italia praeter Galliam tota.
32 Quae si erunt facta, opinio ipsa et fama nostrae severitatis
obruet scelerati gladiatoris amentiam. Sentiet sibi bellum
cum re publica esse susceptum, experietur consentientis
senatus nervos atque vires: nam nunc quidem partium
contentionem esse dictitat. Quarum partium? Alteri victi
sunt, alteri sunt e mediis C. Caesaris partibus: nisi forte
Caesaris partes a Pansa et Hirtio consulibus et a filio
C. Caesaris oppugnari putamus. Hoc vero bellum non
est ex dissensione partium, sed ex nefaria spe perditissimorum
civium excitatum: quibus bona fortunaeque nostrae notatae
33 sunt et iam ad cuiusque opinionem distributae. Legi episto-
lam Antonii, quam ad quendam septemvirum, capitalem
hominem, collegam suum, miserat. 'Quid concupiscas tu
videris: quod concupiveris certe habebis.' En ad quem
legatos mittamus, cui bellum moremur inferre: qui ne sorti

quidem fortunas nostras destinavit, sed libidini cuiusque nos
ita addixit, ut ne sibi quidem quidquam integrum, quod non
alicui promissum iam sit, reliquerit. Cum hoc, patres con-
scripti, bello, bello, inquam, decertandum est, idque confestim:
legatorum tarditas repudianda est. Quapropter ne multa 34
nobis quotidie decernenda sint, consulibus totam rem publicam
commendandam censeo iisque permittendum, ut rem publicam
defendant provideantque ne quid res publica detrimenti
accipiat, censeoque ut iis, qui in exercitu M. Antonii sunt,
ne sit ea res fraudi, si ante Kalendas Februarias ab eo
discesserint. Haec si censueritis, patres conscripti, brevi
tempore libertatem populi Romani auctoritatemque vestram
recuperabitis: si autem lenius agetis, tamen eadem, sed
fortasse serius decernetis. De re publica, quoad rettulistis,
satis decrevisse videor.

Altera res est de honoribus: de quibus deinceps intelligo **13**
esse dicendum. Sed qui ordo in sententiis rogandis servari 35
solet, eundem tenebo in viris fortibus honorandis. A Bruto
igitur, consule designato, more maiorum capiamus exordium:
cuius ut superiora omittam, quae sunt maxima illa quidem,
sed adhuc hominum magis iudiciis quam publice laudata,
quibusnam verbis eius laudes huius ipsius temporis consequi
possumus? Neque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus
praeter hanc laudis gloriaeque desiderat: qua etiam si
careat, tamen sit se ipsa contenta: quamquam in memoria
gratorum civium tamquam in luce posita laetetur. Laus
igitur iudicii testimoniique nostr tribuenda Bruto est. Quam 36
ob rem his verbis, patres conscripti, senatus consultum
faciendum censeo: Cum D. Brutus imperator, consul
designatus, provinciam Galliam in senatus populique Romani
potestate teneat, cumque exercitum tantum tam brevi tem-
pore summo studio municipiorum coloniarumque provinciae
Galliae, optime de re publica meritae merentisque, con-

scripserit compararit, id eum recte et ordine exque re publica
fecisse, idque D. Bruti praestantissimum meritum in rem
publicam senatui populoque Romano gratum esse et fore:
itaque senatum populumque Romanum existimare, D. Bruti
imperatoris, consulis designati, opera, consilio, virtute in-
credibilique studio et consensu provinciae Galliae rei publicae
37 difficillimo tempore esse subventum. Huic tanto merito
Bruti, patres conscripti, tantoque in rem publicam beneficio
quis est tantus honos qui non debeatur? Nam si M. Antonio
patuisset Gallia, si oppressis municipiis et coloniis imparatis
in illam ultimam Galliam penetrare potuisset, quantus rei
publicae terror impenderet? Dubitaret, credo, homo amen-
tissimus atque in omnibus consiliis praeceps et devius non
solum cum exercitu suo, sed etiam cum omni immanitate
barbariae bellum inferre nobis, ut eius furorem ne Alpium
quidem muro cohibere possemus. Haec igitur habenda
gratia est D. Bruto, qui illum, nondum interposita auctoritate
vestra, suo consilio atque iudicio non ut consulem recepit,
sed ut hostem arcuit Gallia seque obsideri quam hanc urbem
maluit. Habeat ergo huius tanti facti tamque praeclari
decreto nostro testimonium sempiternum: Galliaque, quae
semper praesidet atque praesedit huic imperio libertatique
communi, merito vereque laudetur, quod se suasque vires
non tradidit, sed opposuit Antonio.

14 Atque etiam M. Lepido pro eius egregiis in rem publicam
38 meritis decernendos honores quam amplissimos censeo.
Semper ille populum Romanum liberum voluit maximumque
signum illo die dedit voluntatis et iudicii sui, cum Antonio
diadema Caesari imponente se avertit gemituque et maestitia
declaravit, quantum haberet odium servitutis, quam populum
Romanum liberum cuperet, quam illa, quae tulerat, temporum
magis necessitate quam iudicio tulisset. Quanta vero is
moderatione usus sit in illo tempore civitatis, quod post

mortem Caesaris consecutum est, quis nostrum oblivisci
potest? Magna haec, sed ad maiora properat oratio. Quid 39
enim, o di immortales! admirabilius omnibus gentibus, quid
optatius populo Romano accidere potuit quam, cum bellum
civile maximum esset, cuius belli exitum omnes timeremus,
sapientia † etiam id potius exstingui quam armis et ferro rem
in discrimen adducere? Quod si eadem ratio Caesaris
fuisset in illo taetro miseroque bello, ut omittam patrem,
duos Cn. Pompei, summi et singularis viri, filios incolumes
haberemus: quibus certe pietas fraudi esse non debuit.
Utinam omnes M. Lepidus servare potuisset! Facturum
fuisse declaravit in eo, quod potuit, cum Sex. Pompeium
restituit civitati, maximum ornamentum rei publicae, claris-
simum monumentum clementiae suae. Gravis illa fortuna
populi Romani, grave fatum. Pompeio enim patre, quod
imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, exstincto interfectus est
patris simillimus filius. Sed omnia mihi videntur deorum 40
immortalium iudicio expiata, Sex. Pompeio rei publicae con-
servato. Quam ob causam iustam atque magnam et quod **15**
periculosissimum civile bellum maximumque humanitate et
sapientia sua M. Lepidus ad pacem concordiamque convertit,
senatus consultum his verbis censeo perscribendum: Cum
a M. Lepido imperatore, pontifice maximo, saepe numero
res publica et bene et feliciter gesta sit, populusque Romanus
intellexerit ei dominatum regium maxime displicere, cumque
eius opera, virtute, consilio singularique clementia et man-
suetudine bellum acerbissimum civile sit restinctum, Sextusque
Pompeius, Gnaei filius, Magnus, huius ordinis auctoritate ab 41
armis discesserit et a M. Lepido imperatore, pontifice maximo,
summa senatus populique Romani voluntate civitati restitutus
sit: senatum populumque Romanum pro maximis plurimis-
que in rem publicam M. Lepidi meritis magnam spem in
eius virtute, auctoritate, felicitate reponere otii, pacis, con-

cordiae, libertatis, eiusque in rem publicam meritorum senatum
populumque Romanum memorem fore, eique statuam eques-
trem inauratam in rostris aut quo alio loco in foro vellet ex
huius ordinis sententia statui placere. Qui honos, patres
conscripti, mihi maximus videtur primum, quia iustus est:
non enim solum datur propter spem temporum reliquorum,
sed pro amplissimis meritis redditur; nec vero cuiquam
possumus commemorare hunc honorem a senatu tributum
iudicio senatus soluto et libero.

16 Venio ad C. Caesarem, patres conscripti: qui nisi fuisset,
42 quis nostrum esse potuisset? Advolabat ad urbem a Brun-
disio homo impotentissimus, ardens odio, animo hostili in
omnes bonos, cum exercitu Antonius. Quid huius audaciae
et sceleri poterat opponi? Nondum ullos duces habebamus,
non copias; nullum erat consilium publicum, nulla libertas;
dandae cervices erant crudelitati nefariae; fugam quaere-
43 bamus omnes, quae ipsa exitum non habebat. Quis tum
nobis, quis populo Romano obtulit hunc divinum adolescentem
deus, qui, cum omnia ad perniciem nostram pestifero illi
civi paterent, subito praeter spem omnium exortus prius
confecit exercitum, quem furori M. Antonii opponeret, quam
quisquam hoc eum cogitare suspicaretur. Magni honores
habiti Cn. Pompeio, cum esset adolescens, et quidem iure:
subvenit enim rei publicae, sed aetate multo robustior et
militum ducem quaerentium studio paratior et in alio genere
belli; non enim omnibus Sullae causa grata: declarat
multitudo proscriptorum, tot municipiorum maximae calam-
44 itates. Caesar autem annis multis minor veteranos cupientes
iam requiescere armavit; eam complexus est causam, quae
esset senatui, quae populo, quae cunctae Italiae, quae dis
hominibusque gratissima. Et Pompeius ad L. Sullae
maximum imperium victoremque exercitum accessit: Caesar
se ad neminem adiunxit; ipse princeps exercitus faciendi et

praesidii comparandi fuit. Ille adversariorum partibus agrum Picenum habuit inimicum: hic ex Antonii amicis, sed amicioribus libertatis contra Antonium confecit exercitum. Illius opibus Sulla regnavit: huius praesidio Antonii dominatus oppressus est. Demus igitur imperium Caesari, 45
sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest: sit pro praetore eo iure quo qui optimo. Qui honos quamquam est magnus illa aetate, tamen ad necessitatem rerum gerendarum, non solum ad dignitatem valet. Itaque illa quaeramus, quae vix hodierno die consequemur. Sed saepe spero fore huius adolescentis honor- **17**
andi et nobis et populo Romano potestatem: hoc autem tempore ita censeo decernund m: Quod C. Caesar, Gai 46
filius, pontifex, pro praetore, summo rei publicae tempore milites veteranos ad libertatem populi Romani cohortatus sit eosque conscripserit, quodque legio Martia atque quarta summo studio optimoque in rem publicam consensu C. Caesare duce et auctore rem publicam, libertatem populi Romani defendant defenderint, et quod C. Caesar pro praetore Galliae provinciae cum exercitu subsidio profectus sit, equites, sagittarios, elephantos in suam populique Romani potestatem redegerit difficillimoque rei publicae tempore saluti dignitatique populi Romani subvenerit: ob eas causas senatui placere, C. Caesarem, Gai filium, pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse sententiamque loco praetorio dicere, eiusque rationem, quemcumque magistratum petet, ita haberi, ut haberi per leges liceret, si anno superiore quaestor fuisset. Quid est enim, patres conscripti, cur eum non quam primum 47
amplissimos honores capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorem aetatem ad consulatum constituebant, adolescentiae temeritatem verebantur: C. Caesar ineunte aetate docuit ab excellenti eximiaque virtute progressum aetatis exspectari non oportere. Itaque maiores nostri,

veteres illi admodum antiqui, leges annales non habebant:
quas multis post annis attulit ambitio, ut gradus essent
petitionis inter aequales. Ita saepe magna indoles virtutis,
prius quam rei publicae prodesse potuisset, exstincta est.
48 At vero apud antiquos Rulli, Decii, Corvini multique alii,
recentiore autem memoria superior Africanus, T. Flamininus
admodum adolescentes consules facti tantas res gesserunt,
ut populi Romani imperium auxerint, nomen ornarint. Quid?
Macedo Alexander, cum ab ineunte aetate res maximas
gerere coepisset, nonne tertio et tricesimo anno mortem
obiit? quae est aetas nostris legibus decem annis minor quam
consularis. Ex quo iudicari potest virtutis esse quam aetatis
18 cursum celeriorem. Nam quod ii, qui Caesari invident,
simulant se timere, ne verendum quidem est, ut tenere se
possit, ut moderari, ne honoribus nostris elatus intemperan-
49 tius suis opibus utatur. Ea natura rerum est, patres con-
scripti, ut, qui sensum verae gloriae ceperit quique se ab
senatu, ab equitibus Romanis populoque Romano universo
senserit civem carum haberi salutaremque rei publicae, nihil
cum hac gloria comparandum putet. Utinam C. Caesari,
patri dico, contigisset adolescenti, ut esset senatui atque
optimo cuique carissimus! quod cum consequi neglexisset,
omnem vim ingenii, quae summa fuit in illo, in populari
levitate consumpsit. Itaque cum respectum ad senatum et
ad bonos non haberet, eam sibi viam ipse patefecit ad opes
suas amplificandas, quam virtus liberi populi ferre non posset.
Eius autem filii longissime diversa ratio est: qui cum
omnibus est, tum optimo cuique carissimus. In hoc spes
libertatis posita est; ab hoc accepta iam salus; huic summi
50 honores et exquiruntur et parati sunt. Cuius igitur singularem
prudentiam admiramur, eius stultitiam timemus? Quid enim
stultius quam inutilem potentiam, invidiosas opes, cupiditatem
dominandi praecipitem et lubricam anteferre verae, gravi,

solidae gloriae? An hoc vidit puer: si aetate processerit, non videbit? At est quibusdam inimicus clarissimis atque optimis civibus. Nullus iste timor esse debet. Omnes Caesar inimicitias rei publicae condonavit: hanc sibi iudicem constituit, hanc moderatricem omnium *consiliorum* atque factorum. Ita enim ad rem publicam accessit, ut eam confirmaret, non ut everteret. Omnes habeo cognitos sensus adolescentis. Nihil est illi re publica carius, nihil vestra auctoritate gravius, nihil bonorum virorum iudicio optatius,
nihil vera gloria dulcius. Quam ob rem ab eo non modo 51
nihil timere, sed maiora et meliora exspectare debetis, neque in eo, qui ad D. Brutum obsidione liberandum profectus sit, timere, ne memoria maneat domestici doloris, quae plus apud eum possit quam salus civitatis. Audebo etiam obligare fidem meam, patres conscripti, vobis populoque Romano reique publicae: quod profecto, cum me nulla vis cogeret, facere non auderem, pertimescerernque in maxima re periculosam opinionem temeritatis: promitto, recipio, spondeo, patres conscripti, C. Caesarem talem semper fore civem, qualis hodie sit qualemque eum maxime velle esse et optare debemus.

Quae cum ita sint, de Caesare satis hoc tempore dictum **19**
habebo. Nec vero de L. Egnatuleio, fortissimo et con- 52
stantissimo civi amicissimoque rei publicae, silendum arbitror, sed tribuendum testimonium virtutis egregiae, quod is legionem quartam ad Caesarem adduxerit, quae praesidio consulibus, senatui populoque Romano reique publicae esset: ob eam causam placere, uti L. Egnatuleio triennium ante legitimum tempus magistratus petere, capere, gerere liceat. In quo, patres conscripti, non tantum commodum tribuitur L. Egnatuleio, quantus honos: in tali enim re satis est nominari.

De exercitu autem C. Caesaris ita censeo decernundum: 53
senatui placere, militibus veteranis, qui Caesaris pontificis

auctoritatem secuti libertatem populi Romani auctoritatemque huius ordinis defenderint atque defendant, iis liberisque eorum militiae vacationem esse, utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videretur, cognoscerent, qui ager iis coloniis esset, quo milites veterani deducti essent, qui contra legem Iuliam possideretur, ut is militibus veteranis divideretur: de agro Campano separatim cognoscerent inirentque rationem de commodis militum veteranorum augendis; legionique Martiae et legioni quartae et iis militibus, qui de legione secunda, tricesima quinta ad C. Pansam A. Hirtium consules venissent suaque nomina edidissent, quod iis auctoritas senatus populique Romani libertas carissima sit et fuerit, vacationem militiae ipsis liberisque eorum esse placere extra tumultum Gallicum Italicumque, easque legiones bello confecto missas fieri placere; quantamque pecuniam militibus earum legionum in singulos C. Caesar, pontifex, pro praetore pollicitus sit, tantam dari placere: utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videretur, rationem agri haberent, qui sine iniuria privatorum dividi posset, iisque militibus, legioni Martiae et legioni quartae ita darent adsignarent, ut quibus militibus amplissime dati adsignati essent. Dixi ad ea omnia, consules, de quibus rettulistis: quae si erunt sine mora matureque decreta, facilius apparabitis ea, quae tempus et necessitas flagitat. Celeritate autem opus est: qua si essemus usi, bellum, ut saepe dixi, nullum haberemus.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SEVENTH ORATION

DURING the absence of the ambassadors appointed in pursuance of the proposal made by L. Fufius Calenus on the 1st of January, 43 B. C., the Consuls summoned a meeting of the senate, for the purpose of settling some comparatively unimportant business connected with the Appian road, the Mint, and the festival of the Lupercalia. The day of the meeting is not exactly known, but it was before the 15th of February, that being the day on which the Lupercalia was held. Cicero was present, and on being asked for his vote upon the first two questions, he took the opportunity of delivering the seventh Philippic oration, in which the first three lines and the last seven words refer to the matter under discussion, and the rest is occupied with an urgent appeal to the senate not to listen to the friends of Antony, whose anxiety for a peace, which was incompatible with freedom, safety, or honour, showed more zeal for the cause of their friend than loyalty to their country. He therefore pressed upon them the necessity of continuing their efforts for the protection of the state, since no sincere proposals could be hoped for on the side of Antony. The speech is one of his most eloquent: but it does not appear that any immediate action was taken in consequence of it.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER SEPTIMUS

1 Parvis de rebus, sed fortasse necessariis consulimur, patres
1 conscripti. De Appia via et de Moneta consul, de Lupercis
tribunus pl. refert. Quarum rerum etsi facilis explicatio
videtur, tamen animus aberrat a sententia suspensus curis
maioribus. Adducta est enim, patres conscripti, res in
maximum periculum et in extremum paene discrimen. Non
sine causa legatorum missionem semper timui, numquam
probavi, quorum reditus quid sit allaturus ignoro: ex-
spectatio quidem quantum afferat languoris animis quis non
videt? Non enim se tenent ii, qui senatum dolent ad
auctoritatis pristinae spem revirescere, coniunctum huic ordini
populum Romanum, conspirantem Italiam, paratos exercitus,
2 expeditos duces. Iam nunc fingunt responsa Antonii eaque
defendunt. Alii postulare illum, ut omnes exercitus dimit-
tantur. Scilicet legatos ad eum misimus, non ut pareret
et dicto audiens esset huic ordini, sed ut conditiones ferret,
leges imponeret, reserare nos exteris gentibus Italiam iuberet,
se praesertim incolumi, a quo maius periculum quam ab
3 ullis nationibus extimescendum est. Alii remittere eum
nobis Galliam citeriorem, illam ultimam postulare: prae-

clare! ex qua non legiones solum, sed etiam nationes ad urbem conetur adducere. Alii nihil eum iam nisi modeste postulare. Macedoniam suam vocat omnino, quoniam Gaius frater est inde revocatus. Sed quae provincia est, ex qua illa fax excitare non possit incendium? Itaque idem, quasi providi cives et senatores diligentes, bellicum me cecinisse dicunt, suscipiunt pacis patrocinium. Nonne sic disputant? Irritatum Antonium non oportuit; nequam est homo ille atque confidens; multi praeterea improbi—quos quidem a se primum numerare possunt, qui haec locuntur—: eos cavendos esse denuntiant. Utrum igitur in nefariis civibus ulciscendi, cum possis, an pertimescendi diligentior cautio est? Atque haec ii locuntur, qui quondam propter levitatem **2**
populares habebantur. Ex quo intelligi potest animo illos 4
abhorruisse semper ab optimo civitatis statu, non voluntate fuisse populares. Qui enim evenit ut, qui in rebus improbis populares fuerint, idem in re una maxime populari, quod eadem salutaris rei publicae sit, improbos se quam populares esse malint? Me quidem semper, uti scitis, adversarium multitudinis temeritati haec fecit praeclarissima causa popularem. Et quidem dicuntur, vel potius se ipsi dicunt con- 5
sulares: quo nomine dignus est nemo, nisi qui tanti honoris nomen potest sustinere. Faveas tu hosti? ille litteras ad te mittat de sua spe rerum secundarum? eas tu laetus proferas, recites, describendas etiam des improbis civibus? eorum augeas animos? bonorum spem virtutemque debilites? et te consularem aut senatorem, denique civem putes? Accipiet in optimam partem C. Pansa, fortissimus consul atque optimus. Etenim dicam animo amicissimo: hunc ipsum, mihi hominem familiarissimum, nisi talis consul esset, ut omnes vigilias, curas, cogitationes in rei publicae salute defigeret, consulem non putarem. Quamquam nos ab 6
ineunte illius aetate usus, consuetudo, studiorum etiam

honestissimorum societas similitudoque devinxit, eiusdemque
cura incredibilis in asperrimis belli civilis periculis perspecta
docuit non modo salutis, sed etiam dignitatis meae fuisse
fautorem: tamen eundem, ut dixi, nisi talis consul esset,
negare esse consulem auderem. Idem non modo consulem
esse dico, sed etiam memoria mea praestantissimum atque
optimum consulem, non quin pari virtute et voluntate alii
fuerint, sed tantam causam non habuerunt, in qua et volun-
7 tatem suam et virtutem declararent. Huius magnitudini
animi, gravitati, sapientiae tempestas est oblata formido-
losissimi temporis. Tum autem illustratur consulatus, cum
gubernat rem publicam, si non optabili, at necessario tempore.
Magis autem necessarium, patres conscripti, nullum tempus
umquam fuit.

3 Itaque ego ille, qui semper pacis auctor fui, cuique pax
praesertim civilis, quamquam omnibus bonis, tamen in
primis fuit optabilis—omne enim curriculum industriae
nostrae in foro, in curia, in amicorum periculis propulsandis
elaboratum est; hinc honores amplissimos, hinc mediocres
opes, hinc dignitatem, si quam habemus, consecuti sumus—:
8 ego igitur pacis, ut ita dicam, alumnus, qui, quantuscumque
sum—nihil enim mihi arrogo—sine pace civili certe non
fuissem—periculose dico; quem ad modum accepturi, patres
conscripti, sitis horreo, sed pro mea perpetua cupiditate
vestrae dignitatis retinendae et augendae quaeso oroque
vos, patres conscripti, ut primo, etsi erit vel acerbum auditu
vel incredibile a M. Cicerone esse dictum, accipiatis sine
offensione quod dixero, neve id prius, quam quale sit
explicaro, repudietis— : ego ille, dicam saepius, pacis semper
laudator, semper auctor, pacem cum M. Antonio esse nolo.
Magna spe ingredior in reliquam orationem, patres conscripti,
quoniam periculosissimum locum silentio sum praetervectus.
9 Cur igitur pacem nolo? quia turpis est, quia periculosa,

quia esse non potest. Quae tria dum explico, peto a vobis, patres conscripti, ut eadem benignitate qua soletis mea verba audiatis.

Quid est inconstantia, levitate, mobilitate cum singulis hominibus, tum vero universo senatui turpius? quid porro inconstantius quam, quem modo hostem non verbo, sed re multis decretis iudicaritis, cum hoc subito pacem velle
coniungi? Nisi vero, cum C. Caesari meritos illi quidem 10
honores et debitos, sed tamen singulares et immortales decrevistis, unam ob causam, quod contra M. Antonium exercitum comparavisset, non hostem tum Antonium iudicavistis; nec tum hostis est a vobis iudicatus Antonius, cum laudati auctoritate vestra veterani milites, qui C. Caesarem secuti essent; nec tum hostem Antonium iudicastis, cum fortissimis legionibus, quod illum, qui consul appellabatur, cum esset hostis, reliquissent, vacationes, pecu-
nias, agros spopondistis. Quid? cum Brutum, omine quo- **4**
dam illius generis et nominis natum ad rem publicam 11
liberandam, exercitumque eius, pro libertate populi Romani bellum gerentem cum Antonio, provinciamque fidelissimam atque optimam, Galliam, laudibus amplissimis affecistis, tum non hostem iudicastis Antonium? Quid? cum decrevistis ut consules, alter ambove, ad bellum proficiscerentur, quod
erat bellum, si hostis Antonius non erat? Quid igitur pro- 12
fectus est vir fortissimus, meus collega et familiaris, A. Hirtius consul? at qua imbecillitate! qua macie! sed animi vires corporis infirmitas non retardavit. Aequum, credo, putavit vitam, quam populi Romani votis retinuisset, pro libertate
populi Romani in discrimen adducere. Quid? cum dilectus 13
haberi tota Italia iussistis, cum vacationes omnes sustulistis, tum ille hostis non est iudicatus? Armorum officinas in urbe videtis; milites cum gladiis secuntur consulem; praesidio sunt specie consuli, re et veritate nobis; omnes sine

ulla recusatione, summo etiam cum studio nomina dant, parent auctoritati vestrae: non est iudicatus hostis Antonius?
14 At legatos misimus. Heu me miserum! cur senatum cogor, quem laudavi semper, reprehendere? Quid? vos censetis, patres conscripti, legatorum missionem populo Romano vos probavisse? non intelligitis, non auditis, meam sententiam flagitari? cui cum pridie frequentes essetis assensi, postridie ad spem estis inanem pacis devoluti. Quam turpe porro legiones ad senatum legatos mittere, senatum ad Antonium! quamquam illa legatio non est: denuntiatio est paratum illi exitium, nisi paruerit huic ordini. Quid refert? tamen opinio est gravior. Missos enim legatos omnes vident,
5 decreti nostri non omnes verba noverunt. Retinenda est igitur nobis constantia, gravitas, perseverantia, repetenda vetus illa severitas: si quidem auctoritas senatus decus, honestatem, laudem, dignitatemque desiderat, quibus rebus hic ordo caruit nimium diu. Sed erat tunc excusatio oppressis, misera illa quidem, sed tamen iusta: nunc nulla est. Liberati regio dominatu videbamur: multo postea gravius urguebamur armis domesticis. Ea ipsa depulimus nos quidem: extorquenda sunt. Quod si non possumus facere—dicam quod dignum est senatore et Romano
15 homine—, moriamur. Quanta enim illa erit rei publicae turpitudo, quantum dedecus, quanta labes, dicere in hoc ordine sententiam M. Antonium consulari loco! cuius ut omittam innumerabilia scelera urbani consulatus, in quo pecuniam publicam maximam dissipavit, exsules sine lege restituit, vectigalia divendidit, provincias de populi Romani imperio sustulit, regna addixit pecunia, leges civitati per vim imposuit, armis aut obsedit aut exclusit senatum: ut haec, inquam, omittam, ne hoc quidem cogitatis eum, qui Mutinam, coloniam populi Romani firmissimam, oppugnarit, imperatorem populi Romani, consulem designatum, obsederit,

depopulatus agros sit, hunc in eum ordinem recipi, a quo
totiens ob has ipsas causas hostis iudicatus sit, quam foedum
flagitiosumque sit?

Satis multa de turpitudine: dicam deinceps, ut proposui, 16
de periculo, quod etsi minus est fugiendum quam turpitudo,
tamen offendit animos maioris partis hominum magis.
Poteritis igitur exploratam habere pacem, cum in civitate **6**
M. Antonium videbitis vel potius Antonios? Nisi forte
contemnitis Lucium; ego ne Gaium quidem. Sed, ut video,
dominabitur Lucius; est enim patronus quinque et triginta
tribuum, quarum sua lege, qua cum C. Caesare magistratum
partitus est, suffragium sustulit; patronus centuriarum equitum
Romanorum, quas item sine suffragio esse voluit; patronus
eorum, qui tribuni militares fuerunt; patronus Iani medii.
Quis huius potentiam poterit sustinere? praesertim cum 17
eosdem in agros etiam deduxerit. Quis umquam omnes
tribus? quis equites Romanos? quis tribunos militares?
Gracchorum potentiam maiorem fuisse arbitramini, quam
huius gladiatoris futura sit? quem gladiatorem non ita
appellavi, ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiator appellari
solet, sed ut appellant ii, qui plane et Latine locuntur.
Myrmillo in Asia depugnavit. Cum ornasset thraecidicis
comitem et familiarem suum, illum miserum fugientem
iugulavit; luculentam tamen ipse plagam accepit, ut de-
clarat cicatrix. Qui familiarem iugularit, quid is occasione 18
data faciet inimico? et qui illud animi causa fecerit, hunc
praedae causa quid facturum putatis? Non rursus improbos
decuriabit? non sollicitabit rursus agrarios? non queretur
expulsos? M. vero Antonius non is erit, ad quem omni
motu concursus fiat civium perditorum? Ut nemo sit alius
nisi ii, qui una sunt, et ii, qui hic ei nunc aperte favent,
parumne erunt multi? praesertim cum bonorum praesidia
discesserint, illi parati sint ad nutum futuri? Ego vero

metuo, si hoc tempore consilio lapsi erimus, ne illi brevi
19 tempore nimis multi nobis esse videantur. Nec ego pacem
nolo, sed pacis nomine bellum involutum reformido. Quare
si pace frui volumus, bellum gerendum est: si bellum
7 omittimus, pace numquam fruemur. Est autem vestri con-
silii, patres conscripti, in posterum quam longissime providere.
Idcirco in hac custodia et tamquam specula collocati sumus,
uti vacuum metu populum Romanum nostra vigilia et pro-
spicientia redderemus. Turpe est summo consilio orbis terrae,
praesertim in re tam perspicua, consilium intelligi defuisse.
20 Eos consules habemus, eam populi Romani alacritatem, eum
consensum Italiae, eos duces, eos exercitus, ut nullam calami-
tatem res publica accipere possit sine culpa senatus. Equidem
non deero: monebo, praedicam, denuntiabo, testabor semper
deos hominesque quid sentiam, nec solum fidem meam,
quod fortasse videatur satis esse, sed in principe civi non
est satis: curam, consilium vigilantiamque praestabo.

8 Dixi de periculo: docebo ne coagmentari quidem posse
21 pacem; de tribus enim, quae proposui, hoc extremum est.
Quae potest pax esse M. Antonio primum cum senatu?
quo ore vos ille poterit, quibus vicissim vos illum oculis
intueri? quis vestrum illum, quem ille vestrum non oderit?
Age, vos ille solum, et vos illum? Quid? ii, qui Mutinam
circumsedent, qui in Gallia dilectus habent, qui in vestras
fortunas imminent, amici umquam vobis erunt aut vos illis?
An equites Romanos amplectetur? occulta enim fuit eorum
voluntas iudiciumque de Antonio. Qui frequentissimi in
gradibus Concordiae steterunt, qui nos ad libertatem recupe-
randam excitaverunt, arma, saga, bellum flagitaverunt, me
una cum populo Romano in contionem vocaverunt: hi
22 Antonium diligent et cum his pacem servabit Antonius? Nam
quid ego de universo populo Romano dicam? qui pleno ac
referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in contionem vocavit

declaravitque maximam libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem.
Ita quod erat optabile antea, ut populum Romanum comitem
haberemus, nunc habemus ducem. Quae est igitur spes,
qui Mutinam circumsedent, imperatorem populi Romani
exercitumque oppugnant, iis pacem cum populo Romano
esse posse? An cum municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta **23**
studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis,
pecuniis pollicendis, ut in singulis oppidis curiam populi
Romani non desideretis? Laudandi sunt ex huius ordinis
sententia Firmani, qui principes pecuniae pollicendae fuerunt:
respondendum honorifice est Marrucinis, qui ignominia
notandos censuerunt eos, si qui militiam subterfugissent.
Haec iam tota Italia fient. Magna pax Antonio cum iis,
his item cum illo. Quae potest esse maior discordia? in
discordia autem pax civilis esse nullo pacto potest. Ut **24**
omittam multitudinem, L. Visidio, equiti Romano, homini
in primis ornato atque honesto civique semper egregio,
cuius ego excubias et custodias mei capitis cognovi in con-
sulatu meo; qui vicinos suos non cohortatus est solum ut
milites fierent, sed etiam facultatibus suis sublevavit: huic,
inquam, tali viro, quem nos senatus consulto collaudare
debemus, poteritne esse pacatus Antonius? Quid? C.
Caesari? qui illum urbe, quid? D. Bruto, qui Gallia pro-
hibuit? Iam vero ipse se placabit et leniet provinciae **25**
Galliae, a qua expulsus et repudiatus est? Omnia videbitis,
patres conscripti, nisi prospicitis, plena odiorum, plena dis-
cordiarum, ex quibus oriuntur bella civilia. Nolite igitur id
velle, quod fieri non potest, et cavete, per deos immortales!
patres conscripti, ne spe praesentis pacis perpetuam pacem
amittatis.

Quorsum haec omnis spectat oratio? quid enim legati **9**
egerint, nondum scimus. At vero excitati, erecti, parati, **26**
armati animis iam esse debemus, ne blanda aut supplici

oratione aut aequitatis simulatione fallamur. Omnia fecerit oportet, quae interdicta et denuntiata sunt, prius quam aliquid postulet; Brutum exercitumque eius oppugnare, urbes et agros provinciae Galliae populari destiterit; ad Brutum adeundi legatis potestatem fecerit, exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem eduxerit, nec propius urbem milia passuum ducenta admoverit; fuerit et in senatus et in populi Romani potestate. Haec si fecerit, erit integra potestas nobis deliberandi: si senatui non paruerit, non illi senatus, sed ille
27 populo Romano bellum indixerit. Sed vos moneo, patres conscripti: libertas agitur populi Romani, quae est commendata vobis, vita et fortunae optimi cuiusque, quo cupiditatem infinitam cum immani crudelitate iam pridem intendit Antonius, auctoritas vestra, quam nullam habebitis, nisi nunc tenueritis: taetram et pestiferam beluam ne inclusam et constrictam dimittatis cavete. Te ipsum, Pansa, moneo—quamquam non eges consilio, quo vales plurimum, tamen etiam summi gubernatores in magnis tempestatibus a vectoribus admoneri solent—, hunc tantum tuum apparatum tamque praeclarum ne ad nihilum recidere patiare. Tempus habes tale, quale nemo habuit umquam. Hac gravitate senatus, hoc studio equestris ordinis, hoc ardore populi Romani potes in perpetuum rem publicam metu et periculo liberare. Quibus de rebus refers, P. Servilio assentior.

Clarendon Press Series

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

PHILIPPIC ORATIONS

I, II, III, V, VII

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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PART II.—NOTES

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NOTES

THE FIRST PHILIPPIC ORATION

cc. 1, 2. *Before entering on the main topic of his speech, Cicero thinks it right to explain why he left the city, and why he returned without accomplishing his contemplated journey to Greece. He had derived great hopes from the amnesty which followed the dictator's death; from the moderation and constitutional policy of Antony; and, above all, from the abolition of the dictatorship. These hopes were confirmed by the strong and orderly administration, both of Antony and Dolabella: but they were rudely dashed to the ground by the events of the 1st of June. Then the senate was terrified into inaction; the populace was excited into revolutionary acts; the veterans were urged to look for booty; and Cicero, despairing of any present sphere of usefulness, left the city till the new year should open a prospect of better things.*

Page 7, line 1. **Patres Conscripti.** Livy 2. 1 tells us that on the expulsion of the kings, in order to fill up the number of the senate, diminished by the massacres of Tarquinius, Brutus admitted the principal knights to the rank of senators, under the title of 'Conscripti:' and that this was the origin of the double title of the senate, 'ut in senatum vocarentur, qui Patres, quique conscripti essent. Conscriptos videlicet, in novum senatum adpellabant lectos.' The term 'Patres Conscripti' therefore is condensed for 'Patres et Conscripti,' like 'Populus Romanus Quirites,' 'lis vindiciae,' &c. It had however so completely come to be used as a single expression for 'Senators,' that Cicero even uses the singular 'Pater Conscriptus,' of an individual senator, Phil. 13. 13, 28.

l. 3. **Reversionis.** The distinction between 'reversio and 'reditus' seems to be that the latter is used of a man who has attained the object of his journey, and so returns in accordance with his original plan: the former of a man who turns back before reaching his proposed destination.

l. 7. **Ex eo die**: the 17th of March, two days after Caesar's murder. The temple of Tellus was in the Carinae, on the site of the house of Sp. Cassius, which was pulled down and confiscated on his condemnation in 485 B.C. The exact situation of it is very uncertain, but it probably lay in the valley at the foot of the western slopes of the Esquiline, and so conveniently near the house of Pompey in the Carinae, which Antony himself occupied.

l. 9. **Atheniensium.** On the restoration of the exiles under Thrasybulus, in 403 B.C., when a general amnesty was proclaimed, and the people swore *μὴ μνησικακεῖν*. The term *ἀμνηστία*, which Cicero is said to have used on this occasion, is not found in any Greek author before the time of Plutarch; the classical word being *ἄδεια*.

l. 14. **Per liberos.** The conspirators, even after the amnesty had been proclaimed, did not venture to come down from the Capitol till Antony and Lepidus each sent a son to them, to be kept as hostages for their safety. That 'liberos' is a mere rhetorical inaccuracy for 'filium' is clear from c. 13, 31, and 2. 36, 90, from the latter of which passages we learn that Antony's hostage was one of his sons by Fulvia. On receiving the hostages, Brutus and Cassius descended from their stronghold, and supped the same evening, Brutus with Lepidus, Cassius with Antony. Plut. Brut. 19.

P. 8. l. 1. Deferebat. 'Deferre res ad senatum' is to make an announcement to the senate on a matter over which they have no control; whence it is used of the augurs reporting the auspices, and here of Antony reporting to the senate the purport of documents which they had already ratified: 'referre ad senatum' is the term used of the Consuls, bringing a question formally before the senate for their decision.

l. 2. **In C. Caesaris commentariis**, 'in Caesar's papers,' 'commentarii' being notes for future expansion and use; as Cicero, Brut. 75, 262, tells us that Caesar called his histories 'Commentarios,' because they were 'nudi, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta,' written from the wish 'alios habere parata, unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere historiam.'

l. 4. **Unum.** This was Sex. Clodius, a client of P. Clodius, and the chief agent of his lawlessness, who had been condemned and sent into exile in 52 B.C., after the trial of Milo. Cicero, Att. 14. 13, 6, says he consented to his recall, though convinced that Caesar had never expressed any wish for it: 'quae enim Caesar numquam neque fecisset neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis eius commentariis proferuntur.'

l. 5. **Immunitates**, *ἀτέλειαι*, exemptions from taxation, which we find frequently granted, especially by the emperors both to individuals

and states. It appears from a letter of Cicero, Fam. 12. 1, 1, written about the end of the previous May, that such grants of exemption were among the evils immediately consequent on the death of Caesar: and in the second Philippic we find that Antony soon proceeded to make them by wholesale, 2. 36, 92; 38, 97.

l. 6. **Servius Sulpicius**, the famous lawyer, in favour of erecting a statue to whom Cicero delivered the ninth Philippic oration.

Ne qua tabula figeretur, 'that no law should be published,' the custom being that any new law was engraved on a brazen tablet, and hung up for seventeen days in public, before being finally deposited in the 'aerarium.'

l. 11. **Ne sententias quidem diximus**, 'we passed a silent vote,' without debate, and therefore without a division. See on 3. 9, 24.

Scriptum senatus consultum. It appears to have been unusual for senators to write out beforehand the proposals which they intended to make in the senate. Cp. however 3. 8, 20: 10. 2, 5: Fam. 10. 13, 1.

l. 18. **Iustum**: so long as the dictatorship was held only for a definite time, 'ad tempus sumebatur,' Tac. Ann. 1. 1, and to meet a special emergency. Sulla was the first to make himself perpetual dictator, in 82 B. C., reviving the office after a lapse of 120 years, when its old spirit, as well as the necessity for it, had completely died away. At the time therefore when Antony abolished the dictatorship, there were no feelings of old association attached to it which could counterbalance the dislike which the despotism of Sulla and of Caesar had inspired.

l. 21. **Uncus.** The hook by which the bodies of criminals were dragged, after execution, to the 'scalae Gemoniae,' on the brink of the Aventine, and thence thrown into the Tiber. Cp. Juv. 10. 66 'Seianus ducitur unco,' Suet. Vit. 17 'Apud Gemonias minutissimis ictibus excarnificatus atque confectus est, et inde unco tractus in Tiberim.'

Fugitivo. This was Herophilus, a horse-doctor or oculist, 'equarius' or 'ocularius,' who, according to Val. Max. 9. 15, 2, exchanged his Greek name for the Roman one of Amatius. He assumed to be the grandson of Marius, and having attempted to raise a disturbance after the death of Caesar, was put to death without a trial by Antony; an illegal act, for which the senate granted him indemnity.

l. 22. **Cum collega**: P. Cornelius Dolabella, who had been nominated by Caesar to succeed him in the consulship for the latter part of the year 44 B. C., after he himself should have started on his Parthian expedition. Cp. 2. 32, 80 and 81.

l. 24. **Afuisset**: on that progress through Campania, in the latter half of April and the beginning of May, in order to superintend the distribution of lands to the veterans, with which Cicero taunts him in the second Philippic, §§ 100 foll.

l. 25. **Infinitum malum,** 'an evil of which no one could foresee the end.'

l. 26. **Bustum:** alluding to a column which the lower orders of the people raised in Caesar's honour on the site of his funeral pyre, with the inscription 'PARENTI PATRIAE.' This column Dolabella threw down during the absence of Antony, finding that the honours paid to it were made a pretext for tumult and sedition. He also put the ringleaders in the disturbances to death, crucifying the slaves, and throwing the freemen from the Tarpeian rock.

Insepultam sepulturam, 'that burial so little worthy of the name;' probably with reference to the tumultuous and irregular nature of the proceedings. The body, contrary to the general custom at Rome, was burnt in the very heart of the city, in the Forum. See Legg. 2. 23, 58 'Hominem mortuum, inquit lex in xii tabulis, in urbe ne sepelito neve urito.' The oxymoron appears to be an imitation of such Greek expressions as *νύμφην ἄνυμφον, παρθένον τ' ἀπάρθενον* Eur. Hec. 612.

l. 33. **Kalendis Iuniis.** Cicero tells us in the second Philippic, 42, 108, that the senate was too much alarmed to obey the summons convening it for the 1st of June; and gives a detailed account of the unconstitutional proceedings of Antony on that day: proceedings nominally sanctioned by the people, though in reality they were wholly devoid of such a sanction, as the assembly consisted only of an excited, tumultuous rabble, none of the respectable citizens being present.

P. 9. l. 2. **Consules designati,** C. Vibius Pansa and Aul. Hirtius, who had been nominated by Caesar as Consuls for the year 43. B. C.

l. 5. **Quos tamen,** &c., 'and that though the Consuls themselves were always speaking of them in the highest terms.' Cp. 2. 3, 5 'Quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare,' and 12, 30 'Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino.'

l. 6. **Veterani qui appellabantur:** Graevius takes this to mean 'the veterans to whom Antony appealed;' but it seems more probable that it signifies 'those who claimed the name of veterans:' the imperfect being used rather than the present, because it is not Cicero's object to define the term 'veterani,' but he is wishing to intimate either that he thought those who had aided Caesar against the state to be unworthy of the name, or that many of them had not yet served the number of campaigns which entitled them to it. Hence the reading 'appellantur,' which is found in two MSS., would destroy the meaning of the passage, which would then merely be 'the veterans, as they are called.'

l. 7. **Caverat:** by assigning lands to them after their term of military service had expired.

l. 9. **Ius legationis liberum.** Cicero gives an account of this

'legatio' in one of his letters to Atticus, 15. 11, saying that Dolabella had appointed him his 'legatus,' with the special privilege, usually confined to 'liberae legationes,' of being allowed to enter and leave Rome at his will; and had extended the time within which he might avail himself of it to five years. He says that with these additions to the usual rights of a 'legatus,' this commission suits him better than a 'libera legatio,' since the time of the latter could not be extended. These 'liberae legationes' were a species of honorary commissions, granted to senators who wished to travel in the provinces, and investing them with all the privileges of 'legati.' Seeing the abuses to which they led, Cicero endeavoured, in his consulship, to abolish them, but only succeeded in limiting their duration to one year, Legg. 3. 8, 18. Further regulations, the exact nature of which is unknown, were made about them by a 'Lex Iulia.'

cc. 3, 4. *Cicero had scarcely left Italy, when the fortunate accident of a storm drove him back in time to hear of the speech of Antony, and the farewell edict of Brutus and Cassius; together with the news that the senate was to meet on the 1st of August, and that Antony once more promised to obey the constitution. And although at Velia he heard from Brutus that these promises had not been fulfilled, and that L. Piso alone had dared to raise his voice in support of the authority of the senate, yet he determined still to return, and to make a solemn protest against the encroachments of Antony.*

l. 13. **Plus admirationis habet**, 'has more in it, carries with it more, to excite astonishment.' Cp. Off. 2. 5, 17 'Cum hic locus nihil habeat dubitationis.'

l. 15. **Non sine causa.** In a letter to Atticus, 16. 4, 4, he explains this cause to be the expected arrival of certain legions, probably those from Macedonia, at Brundisium; and says that he entertains the idea of waiting to sail with Brutus. In the next letter he tells Atticus that this scheme fell through, owing to Brutus' anxiety to see how things turned out in Italy.

l. 17. **Tamen** refers, not to what precedes, but to the desire of the Syracusans expressed in the same clause by the participle 'cupiens:'— 'which city, in spite of its eagerness to do so, *yet* could not detain me more than a single night.' Halm compares Pro Sestio, 67, 140 'Hunc tamen flagrantem invidia . . . ipse populus Romanus periculo liberavit.' It is somewhat like the use of ὅμως in such passages as Soph. O. C. 957 ἐρημία με, κεἰ δίκαι' ὅμως λέγω, σμικρὸν τίθησι.

Coniunctissima: owing to the integrity of his conduct as quaestor in the island, and his zeal on its behalf in the prosecution of Verres.

l. 22. **Conscendi.** This verb appears in Cicero to have everywhere the meaning of 'embarking,' whether it is used absolutely, as here, or

with the addition of 'navem,' as in Fam. 3. 10, 3 'Conscendens iam navem, Epheso Laodiceam revertit.'

l. 24. **Intempesta nox**, 'the dead of night,' 'quae non habe idoneum tempus rebus gerendis' Macrob. Sat. 1. 3, sub fin. Cp. Varr. L. L. 7. 72 'Nox intempesta dicta ab tempestate; tempestas ab tempore; nox intempesta quo tempore nihil agitur.' We may compare with it the Greek expression *νυκτὸς ἀωρί*, Theocr. 11. 40.

l. 28. **Contionem.** Of the purport or occasion of this speech we know nothing, except that we may gather from this passage that it referred to the restoration of tranquillity in the state. It was a common practice to have such speeches taken down by shorthand writers, 'notarii,' and copies distributed among those interested in the proceedings.

l. 29. **Coeperim**, the perfect subjunctive, instead of the pluperfect, to bring the picture more vividly before the minds of the hearers, on the same principle as the use of the present indicative in historic narration.

l. 30. **Edictum Bruti et Cassii.** This was probably the farewell edict which they published when on the point of leaving Italy; in which they declared themselves willing, if it were necessary for the peace of the state, to live in perpetual exile.

P. 10. l. 2. **Rem conventuram**, 'that an arrangement would be made;' cp. Att. 9. 6, 2 'Rem conventuram putamus.' Lit. 'that the matter would be agreed upon.'

Kalendis. In the MSS. we find 'Kalendis Sextilibus,' an obvious mistake, since Cicero came to Syracuse on the 1st of August. Halm thinks there is a confusion between 'Sext.' and 'Sept.:' but it seems more probable that the month was not named by Cicero, and that some copyist has repeated the word 'Sextilibus' from the previous section. See Madvig, Opusc. I. p. 163.

Senatum frequentem fore, 'that there would be a full meeting of the senate.'

l. 3. **Provinciis Galliis.** By the disposition of Caesar, Transalpine Gaul had been assigned to L. Munatius Plancus, and Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus Brutus. Antony prevailed on the people, notwithstanding this arrangement, to grant him the latter province; but on proceeding in November to take possession of it, he was resisted by Brutus, who threw himself into Mutina, and there maintained himself till the siege was raised by the new Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, both of whom fell in the struggle. Antony was driven across the Alps, and Brutus remained in undisputed command of the province.

l. 6. **Non quo . . . non putarem**, 'not that I had any fears of being too late.' The subjunctive with such expressions appears to be used when the proposition they introduce is in itself a mere hypothesis of the writer or speaker, which is not only declared not to be the reason of the

phenomenon under investigation, but is also asserted to be in itself untrue. Accordingly, when the supposed cause is in itself a real fact, and it is merely denied that it is the cause of the phenomenon, the indicative is used with 'quia' or 'quoniam,' as in Tac. Hist. 3. 4 'Non quia industria Flaviani egebat,' 'not influenced by the desire, which he yet felt, to avail himself of the zeal of Flavianus,' 'sed ut consulare nomen surgentibus . . . praetenderetur:' and Livy 33. 27 'Non quia satis dignos eos esse credebat,' 'not from the conviction which he yet entertained of their worthiness.'

l. 11. **Tuto esse.** A similar use of 'esse' with 'tuto' instead of a predicative noun is found, Fam. 14. 3, 3 'Ut tuto sim;' Att. 8. 1, 1 'Nusquam eris tutius;' ib. 2 'Non quaerere, ubi tutissimo essem.'

l. 14. **De vestro,** i.e. their loss of real power, owing to Antony assuming to take everything into his own hands.

l. 16. **L. Piso,** Caesar's father-in-law, was formerly the bitter personal and political enemy of Cicero, and was attacked by him with the greatest virulence in his speeches De Provinciis Consularibus, and In Pisonem, 55 B.C. In these Cicero accuses him, with apparent justice, of every kind of maladministration in his province of Macedonia during the two preceding years. Piso's opposition to Antony was only short-lived, as when the latter went to Mutina to attack D. Brutus, Piso remained as the principal supporter of his views in Rome. He was one of the envoys to Antony in the beginning of the following year. At present Cicero was ready to follow him as the most appropriate leader of the constitutional party.

l. 23. **Si quid mihi humanitus,** &c., 'if any of the accidents to which man is liable should have befallen me—and many do appear to be hanging over me contrary at once to the course of nature and to my destined lot;'—'fatum' being apparently the natural tenour of the life which destiny had marked out for him, liable however to be overthrown by rash interference on the part of himself or others. Virg. Aen. 4. 696 foll.

'Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco,'

and Demosth. de Cor. p. 296, 19 *τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον*. The same idea occurs frequently in Homer; cp. Od. 1. 33 [*βροτοὶ*] *σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπέρμορον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν*, Il. 2. 155 *ἔνθα κεν Ἀργείοισιν ὑπέρμορα νόστος ἐτύχθη*: though the supremacy of fate was generally vindicated, even by supernatural interference, if necessary, when external causes were on the point of breaking through it. Cp. Il. 17. 321; 20. 30 and 336. See also Professor Conington's note on Virgil, l.c.

l. 25. **Tamen** is omitted in some MSS., but it is commonly found in the apodosis after a protasis produced by a concessive 'si:' 'I might *at any rate* leave my voice in testimony,' &c. Cp. 2. 32, 78 'Si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum.'

l. 26. **Erga se** rather than 'erga eam,' because 'respublica' is virtually the subject of the sentence; 'that the state might still have my voice this day as a witness to my loyalty.'

l. 29. **Hesterna M. Antonii iniuria**, the threats which Antony had used, when Cicero, on the plea of illness, absented himself from the senate on the 1st of September. Nominally, every senator was bound to be present at all meetings of the senate; cp. Legg. 3. 4, 11 'Senatori, qui nec aderit, aut causa aut culpa esto;' and absence was liable to be punished by a fine, which might be enforced by a 'pignoris capio.' This was the technical term for the process whereby the praetor allowed the goods of a person, who was in contempt of court, to be taken, and sold, unless the contempt was purged within a given time. Cp. Livy 3. 38 'Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos adparitores simul ad pignora capienda, sciscitandumque, num consulto detrectarent.' On such an occasion however as the proposal of a 'supplicatio,' or solemn holiday in honour of a general who had gained an important victory, it was supposed that the friends of the person thus honoured would be certain to attend in sufficient numbers to ensure a full house, and therefore it was generally left open to the senators to be present or not as they pleased. The irregularity of the present 'supplicatio' is pointed out by Cicero in this speech, c. 6, 13.

l. 30. **Non nullo eius officio**: in sparing him at Brundisium, when on his return from Pharsalus, Antony was instructed by Caesar to prevent any of Pompey's party from landing in Italy. For Cicero's later estimate of this service, see 2. 3, 5; 24, 59.

cc. 5, 6. *Cicero complains of the personal animosity displayed towards him by Antony, in endeavouring to force him to attend the meeting of the senate on the previous day, when he was weary with his journey, and in threatening violent measures towards him in consequence of his non-appearance. He declares the impossibility of his taking part in any such unconstitutional proceedings as the ordinance of a* 'supplicatio' *in honour of a dead man; and regrets that absence had prevented him from supporting L. Piso in his patriotic opposition to Antony on the 1st of August.*

P. 11. l. 2. **De Pyrrhi pace agebatur.** The allusion is to the mission of Cineas, after the battle of Heraclea, 280 B.C., when the terms of peace that Pyrrhus offered were on the point of being accepted, till Appius Claudius Caecus persuaded the senate to reject them. The

speech which he delivered on the occasion was still extant in Cicero's time. Cic. Brut. 16, 62.

l. 9. **E via languerem,** 'I was tired after my journey.' A more common combination is '*de* via fessus esse,' and the like, and some MSS. here have 'de via,' but the balance of authority is in favour of the reading in the text.

Mihimet displicerem, 'was indisposed.' So of mental trouble, 'Displiceo mihi nec sine multo scribo dolore,' Cic. Att. 2. 18, 3.

l. 11. **Cum fabris.** Cp. 5. 7, 19 'Huc etiam nisi venirem Kal. Sept. etiam fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit.' Cicero's house had been pulled down during his exile in 58 B.C., and rebuilt on his return in the following year, out of funds granted him by the state, in spite of the violent opposition of P. Clodius.

l. 14. **Publicis operis.** This use of 'operae,' for the concrete 'operarii,' is not infrequent in Cicero; cp. c. 9, 22 'Ut ipse ad operas mercenarias statim protrahatur;' Att. 4. 3, 3 'Facile operas aditu prohibuerunt.' So Hor. S. 2. 7, 118 'Accedes opera agro nona Sabino.'

l. 20. **Parentalia.** In the end of February the Romans celebrated a festival in honour of the dead, 'Feralia,' at which offerings were brought to their tombs, and panegyrics pronounced in their praise. Cicero's argument here is, that Antony is mixing up two inconsistent kinds of religious ceremony; the 'Parentalia,' addressed directly to the dead; and the 'Supplicatio,' a solemn service in honour indeed of some general, but addressed to the gods, and therefore incapable of being celebrated after the death of the general without the risk of confusing thanksgiving for his success with worship to himself, and so incurring the guilt of impiety.

l. 22. **Fuerit ille,** 'suppose that he was,' &c. Cp. § 15 'Fuerit quaedam necessaria.'

l. 24. **Stirpem propagavit.** The identity of the families of L. Iunius Brutus, the first consul, and M. Brutus, the tyrannicide, is upheld also by Plutarch Brut. 1, who says, on the authority of Posidonius, that L. Brutus had a third son, who was only a child when his father put his elder brothers to death. The connexion is, however, improbable in itself; and the story of Posidonius would naturally be invented to reconcile its difficulties. The objection that the later Bruti were plebeians, while L. Brutus was a patrician, even if we admit the latter fact as certain, would not be fatal, as there are many instances of families passing from the one order to the other.

l. 28. **Supplicetur.** The tense is to be explained by reference to the idea in Cicero's mind ('numquam adducar ut coniungam'), the change from the imperfect being aided by the tenses in the intervening relative clause.

l. 29. **Si qui gravior casus**, 'if any more serious kind of disaster. The reading of the old editions, supported by two MSS., is 'si quis:' but the usual distinction seems to apply here, that 'si qui casus' means 'if any *kind of* disaster;' si quis casus, 'if any individual disaster.' Cicero is giving the reason why he was so urgent in expressing his opinion on the subject, in order that, whatever might be the result, he at least should be free from blame.

P. 12. l. 6. **Unus modo consularis**, L. Piso. See on § 10.

l. 9. **Amplissimis beneficiis usos**: in being made Consuls and praetors. Among those of consular rank, the most conspicuous were L. Piso, Servius Sulpicius, C. Marcellus, Q. Fufius Calenus, P. Servilius Isauricus, P. Vatinius, and L. Caesar, the uncle of Antony, to whom Cicero is probably especially referring in saying that he can pardon the silence of some of them.

l. 14. **Quae, malum**, 'what, the plague?' Cp. 10. 9, 18 'Quae, malum! est ista ratio?' and Verr. Act. 2. 1. 20, 54 'Quae, malum! est ista tanta audacia?' This interjectional use of 'malum' is most common in the comedians.

l. 15. **Hoc**, i. e. the assertion of freedom under all circumstances. The obscurity in the connexion of ideas has led some recent editors to suppose that some such words as 'repellenda est voluntaria' have been lost: but this seems hardly necessary; and there is no trace of such omission in any of the MSS. The train of thought appears to be, 'Grant that all could not avoid such slavery; this is a degree of patriotism whose absence I must needs forgive in some who speak as consulars; but yet we must distinguish between those whose silence is pardonable, and those who are absolutely bound to speak.'

l. 16. **Sententiam consulari loco dicunt.** The privilege of speaking 'consulari' or 'praetorio loco' was often granted as a special honour to persons who had not filled the office of Consul or praetor. Compare the decree in favour of Octavius, Phil. 5. 17, 46.

l. 18. **Suspicionem . . alium . . deesse.** 'Suspicio' is occasionally found with the accusative and the infinitive; as in Cic. Att. 8. 11 D, 1 'Suspicionem nullam habebam, te reipublicae causa mare transiturum;' Brut. 11, 43 'Fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi conscivisse mortem:' but here there is the especial awkwardness of the clause depending on another infinitive of which the persons suspected are themselves the subject.

cc. 7, 8. *Turning to the main subject of his speech, as containing the reasons for his vote, Cicero declares his opinion that the 'acts' of Caesar ought to be ratified: meaning thereby, not all the memoranda and notes, genuine or forged, which Antony quoted from the dictator's private papers; but his formal and completed acts, as embodied in his laws, such as that*

limiting the tenure of provinces; or that abolishing the third decuria of 'iudices,' which Antony proposed to nullify by establishing a new third decuria, composed of centurions and of privates of the legion Alauda.

l. 26. **Primum igitur . . . censeo.** With this begins the formal declaration of Cicero's resolution and vote, to which all that went before was prefatory. See on 3. 9, 24. Subsequently in writing to C. Cassius, Cicero says that the senate made these concessions to Antony merely 'temporibus cedentes,' Fam. 12. 1, 2.

l. 29. **Sine advocatis.** 'Advocatus' was the name commonly applied to any one who by his presence gave aid or countenance to a person pleading his cause in the senate or law-courts; and especially to the 'iurisconsultus' who supplied him with advice on points of law. Antony's 'advocati,' whose presence Cicero deprecates, were the armed soldiers with whom he had beset the entrances of the 'Cella Concordiae' on the previous day.

l. 33. **Se uno auctore.** This use of the reflexive pronoun is justified by the fact that Antony's views are the prominent thought in Cicero's mind, so that he is the *logical* subject of the sentence: 'Does he think to secure the ratification of those acts of Caesar, of whose existence we have no evidence except in the various note-books of the dictator, which he, and he alone, produces, or rather simply quotes: and that meanwhile all that Caesar caused to be engraved on brass, signifying thereby that they should be permanent laws, should go for nothing?'

P. 13. l. 1. **In aes incidit**: see on c. 1, 3.

l. 4. **An si cui,** &c. Cicero goes on to prove the absurdity of ratifying all these supposed 'acta,' by showing that it would pledge the people to a much more rigid fulfilment of the promises, and even the unexpressed intentions of the dictator, than he either could or would have carried out himself. Cp. Att. 14. 10, 1 'Ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Caesaris plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret.

l. 9. **Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret.** Sc. the seven hundred million sesterces which Antony had seized on the evening of the dictator's murder. See Introd., and 2. 37, 93. The remains of the temple of Ops are still visible in the Forum, adjoining the temple of Saturn. Cicero calls the money 'cruenta,' and 'funesta,' 2. l. c., as being the result of the tyranny and bloodshed of the dictator, especially in the confiscation of the property belonging to the party of Pompey.

l. 11. **Effusa sit,** 'let us acquiesce in its *having been* expended.'

§ 18 introduces, somewhat irregularly, the opposition to what precedes. The natural antithesis to 'id erit fixum' would have been 'leges eius fixae non erunt,' instead of which Cicero proceeds to prove that Caesar's laws were especially 'acta Caesaris,' and leaves his hearers to draw the inference.

l. 13. **Qui togatus**, &c., 'who as a civilian has been invested with supreme civil and military authority in the state.' Cp. Sull. 30, 85 'Cui uni togato supplicationem decreverit.' 'Imperium' is defined by Cicero, Phil. 5. 16, 45, as the power 'sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest.' As it was an established principle that a Consul could not exercise the authority of a general within the city walls, this 'imperium togati' was the especial characteristic of a dictator.

l. 15. **Tertius consulatus.** In 52 B.C., when Pompey, being elected sole Consul, passed the laws 'de Vi,' 'de Ambitu,' and 'de Sodalitiis,' which proved the means of delivering the city from the disturbances o Milo and his party.

l. 24. **Ne praetoriae provinciae**, &c. Cp. 5. 3, 7; 8. 9, 28 'Ipse autem ut quinquennium, inquit Antonius, obtineam provinciam. At istud vetat lex Caesaris, et tu acta Caesaris defendis.' Before the passing of this 'Lex Iulia,' the tenure of a province was not limited in time; and Dion Cassius, 43. 35, says that Caesar was led to propose it by feeling how much both his desire for empire, and his power of acquiring it, were increased by his own long government in the province of Gaul.

l. 27. **De tertia decuria.** The third decuria of the 'tribuni aerarii,' to whom a share in the iudicium had been given by the 'Lex Aurelia' in 70 B.C., was abolished by a 'Lex Iudiciaria' of Julius Caesar passed in 46 B.C. Cp. Suet. Iul. 41. Antony proposed to add another third decuria, consisting of centurions 'qui ordines duxerunt,' and of private soldiers of the legion Alauda. Cp. 5. 5, 12.

l. 32. **Quae ista tertia decuria?** The omission of 'est,' which is however found in some MSS., is quite common in such rhetorical questions.

P. 14. l. 1. **Pompeia**; passed 55 B.C., confirming the provisions of the 'Lex Aurelia,' with regard to the three decuriae, but imposing a property qualification. Cicero therefore shows that the bill of Antony did more to lower the dignity of the judicial bench than any of those which had preceded it.

l. 6. **Quicumque equo meruisset**, 'any who had served in the cavalry,' such service, so far as it was performed by Roman citizens, being always esteemed more honourable than the infantry, and receiving triple pay (Liv. 41. 13, 7). In early times only the centuries of knights served as cavalry. These were eighteen in number, comprising the 'sex suffragia,' or six centuries representing the 'maiores minoresque gentes' of the three old Roman tribes, together with the twelve centuries added by Servius Tullius. These old centuries were provided with a horse by the state, and were said 'merere equo publico.' In the war with Veii, 400 B. C., other citizens possessed of property which would have

qualified them for admission into the centuries of knights, volunteered to serve as cavalry 'suis equis' (Liv. 5. 17), and from that time forward we frequently find such service mentioned, but apparently always as supplementary to the 'centuriae equitum.'

Quod est lautius, 'a more honourable service.'

l. 9. **Alaudarum**, 'the legion Alauda' (so called, apparently, from a plume on their helmets like a lark's crest, Pliny H. N. 11. 37, 44) had been raised by Caesar among the natives of Transalpine Gaul, about 55 B.C., so that the admission of its soldiers to the 'iudicatus' was the first opening of the judicial bench to barbarians. On this point Cicero expresses himself strongly in a later oration, 5. 5. According to him, the avowed motive of Antony in giving them this privilege was to have some devoted partisans among the 'iudices.' They had already been invested with the franchise by Caesar. Suet. Iul. 24.

Aliter, 'without this admixture of obsequious adherents.'

l. 11. **Legis index**, 'the whole gist of the law,' 'index' being used not merely for 'the title' of a book, but also for a summary of its contents; and being hence applied to an abstract of any work, or the subject-matter of any science.

l. 13. **In quo quantus**, &c. Cicero argues that Antony's scheme will defeat its own object; for these legionary 'iudices,' from the very fact of their being admitted on such insulting terms to the judicial bench, to act as his tools, will be led to discharge their duty with greater sternness, if not even to show bias against his followers, in order to exhibit their independence and impartiality, and to prove that they were worthy of receiving admission in more creditable fashion; and of being enrolled in honourable 'decuriae,' instead of being hustled into one which was nothing but a disgrace.

cc. 9, 10. *As for the proposed law allowing those who were found guilty of rioting or treason to appeal to the people, it was a simple abolition of all laws whatsoever; reducing any trials for such crimes to mere questions of violence and corruption, while there was not even any one whose favour Antony might thus conciliate. He was using Caesar's name to nullify the very laws to which Caesar, when alive, attached the most importance; the power of the dead dictator was ruining the commonwealth; and though, in virtue of its constitution, the state had means of guarding against evil consequences even from the worst of laws, the present reign of terrorism turned the ancient forms of law into a farce, and neutralized all such salutary checks.*

l. 18. **Maiestatis**. The crime of 'maiestas' is defined by Cicero, de Invent. 2. 17, 53, as 'De dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum, quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare.'

The right of appeal to the people from the decision of any magistrate, to which we find so much value attached in early Roman history, apparently did not exist in the case of 'quaestiones perpetuae,' permanent judicial commissions, which were first introduced by L. Calpurnius Piso, 149 B.C., to try cases of extortion in the provinces. Afterwards they were extended, probably by C. Gracchus, to the investigation of those public crimes which most frequently gave occasion to capital sentences, such as poisoning and assassination; and by Sulla to all criminal causes. The practical effect of this was the abolition of capital punishment, as the power of life and death rested with the people only. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, vol. 3. pp. 112, 372, 373, Eng. Trans. The appeal of C. Rabirius, supported by an extant speech of Cicero, was from the 'Duumviri perduellionis,' exceptionally appointed for that occasion, and not from the regular criminal tribunal, pro C. Rab. 4. 12. It is obvious that as the working of the law courts became more settled, and more deserving of the confidence of the people, and more especially as the jealousies between patricians and plebeians died away, the 'Provocatio ad Populum,' which was rendered so necessary by the tyranny of kings and decemvirs, and the oppression of a dominant class, would tend to become both unnecessary and pernicious.

l. 21. **Manere** can only mean 'should stand,' an unusual sense of the word. Cp. however Tac. Agric. c. 46 'Quidquid mirati sumus manet mansurumque est in animis hominum.' If the reading is genuine, it would seem as though Cicero were looking forward beyond the actual passing of the law: 'Suppose you pass the law, who will be interested in its remaining in operation?'

Legibus illis. Under the existing laws there were no prisoners for trial, so where was the need of a change by which none would benefit? It was a law for which no one would thank him, 'quae gratiam nullam habeat.' The common reading 'istis legibus' loses all the distinction between the present state of things, in which as a matter of fact no offenders existed, and the result of Antony's proposal, whereby any future criminals would secure indemnity: 'id fertur, ne quis omnino *umquam* istis legibus reus fiat.'

l. 23. **At res popularis**, 'but, you will say, it is a matter which public opinion has already settled.'

l. 29. **Ad eam ipsam vim.** Because it reduces the matter to a contest between the loyal and the partakers of his treason.

l. 30. **Quasi vero**, &c., 'just as though the object were that any single person should appeal.' 'Quisquam' is here used on account of the negative notion really inherent in the clause: 'the object being that no one should appeal.' Cp. in Vat, 3, 7 'Quasi vero quisquam vir

excellenti animo. . . . optabilius quicquam arbitretur quam se a suis civibus rei publicae causa diligi.'

l. 32. **Quis enim**, &c., 'for where will you find either a prosecutor so mad as willingly to expose himself to the mercy of a hired crowd by convicting his opponent; or a juryman so rash as to condemn a prisoner, knowing that he himself will thereupon be dragged before a mob of mercenary labourers?'

P. 15. l. 2. **Operas.** See on c. 5, 12.

l. 4. **Quid est aliud**, 'what else were it to exhort the youths,' &c. Some MSS. insert 'quam' or 'nisi,' as in 5. 8, 21 'Quid erat aliud nisi denuntiare servitutem?' but cp. 2. 4, 7, 'Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem?' So also 5. 2, 5. We may compare the two Greek expressions *ἄλλο τι ἤ* and *ἄλλο τι*.

l. 8. **Obrogatur**: 'obrogare legi est legis prioris infirmandae causa legem aliam ferre: abrogare legem, penitus tollere,' Ferrar. e Festo. Cp. Cic. Rep. 3. 22, 33 'Huic legi neque obrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest.'

Legibus Caesaris. Passed in 46 B.C.

l. 11. **Illa numquam probavi**, 'never approved of their being carried;' not so much because of any fault he had to find with the measures themselves, as on account of the unconstitutional manner in which they were passed.

l. 15. **De exsilio . . . immunitatibus.** See on § 3.

l. 17. **Nationibus**, to the Sicilians, among others. Cp. Att. 14. 12, 1 'Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem a dictatore comitiis latam, qua Siculi cives Romani: cuius rei vivo illo mentio nulla.'

l. 18. **Uno, verum optimo auctore**, 'on the unsupported testimony of a single man, however excellent he may be.' Vulg. 'uno viro optimo,' a reading which loses the irony expressed by the prominence given to 'optimo' in the reading of the text.

l. 19. **Domo prolata** appears to be opposed to the publicity and regularity of the proceedings in the other case.

l. 20. **Recitavit, pronuntiavit** seem both of them to express the public reading of the laws by the crier, before they were proposed; **tulit** the formal proposal of them before the people.

l. 21. **Eisque legibus**, &c., 'thinking that the safety of the state depended on them.' Cp. § 25 'Quibus rei publicae salus continetur.' The change from the relative to the demonstrative, for the sake of simplicity, is common both in Greek and Latin. Cp. Fin. 2. 2, 5 'Finem definiebas id esse, quo omnia, quae recta fierent, referrentur, neque id ipsum usquam referretur.' Plat. Rep. p. 505 E *ὃ δὴ διώκει πᾶσα ψυχὴ καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα πάντα πράττει.*

l. 24. **De his tamen legibus**, 'And yet these laws, which come

under our cognizance by having been promulgated, are not the worst; of these we may at any rate complain.' So far Antony had only used Caesar's authority in support of laws which he brought forward and passed in regular course, so that men might canvass, though they dared not reject them: but besides this, he introduced certain supposititious laws, which he declared to have been actually passed by Caesar, so that men were forced to accept them, without even the opportunity of discussing them. And though constitutionally the tribunes of the commons, by interposing their veto, or by 'obnuntiatio' (see on 2. 32, 81), ought to have been able to overcome all fear of bad laws being passed or acted on to the injury of the state, yet Antony got over this difficulty by the simple process of forcibly preventing them from adopting such a course.

l. 33. **Antiqua ac stulta,** 'follies of a bygone age.' Cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 9, 26 'Homines antiqui, qui ex sua natura ceteros fingerent.' So *ἀρχαῖος*, Aesch. Prom. 317 *ἀρχαῖ' ἴσως σοι φαίνομαι λέγειν τάδε.* Cp. Soph. O. T. 290 *κωφὰ καὶ παλαί' ἔπη.*

P. 16. l. 3. **Credo.** Muretus reads 'cedo illa legitima,' but besides its MS. authority, 'credo' seems also to have more force in keeping up the irony of the clause. 'What is thus carried must needs be law: and the provisions so made law, I presume, you will order to be inscribed on brass.' Cicero then changes from irony into direct invective, while he shows the hollowness of meaning in the ancient formula of laws, when used to introduce measures passed under absolute compulsion.

l. 7. **De futuris.** He passes over all that is irrevocable, and speaks only of the laws which had been promulgated, and were in due course awaiting the vote of the people, who could yet decide upon them as they would ('de quibus est integrum vobis'); and herein, he says, he is acting the part of a friend even towards Antony and Dolabella; for he is warning them of the neglect of religion and order which he foresees will render their acts really invalid, and they need only give heed to his warnings, and abandon their unconstitutional proceedings, if they wish to prove his forebodings false. If he were blaming them for what is past, he argues, they might reasonably be angry with him, but with his friendly advice they have no ground of quarrel.

cc. 11, 12. *Turning directly to address the Consuls, Cicero deprecates the notion that he is actuated by hostility towards them; he even courts their opposition, so long as they confine themselves within the bounds of fair antagonism; and while lamenting that a false conception of glory had lately misled them, he compliments Dolabella on the vigour which he displayed in putting down the riots occasioned by the erection of a monument to Caesar.*

§ 27. With this section begins the second division of Cicero's speech, in which he points out the dangers and the evils of the course which the Consuls were pursuing. See on § 16.

l. 14. **Facilitatem**, 'how placable your temper is:' 'facilitas' being distinguished from 'clementia,' with which it is often joined, as 'readiness to admit an explanation, and so to forgive,' from 'calmness of temper, which does not readily take offence.' See on 9. 5, 11.

l. 16. **Avorum.** These were M. Antonius the orator, Consul in 99 B.C., a strenuous opponent of the democratic party, and L. Julius Caesar, Consul in 90 B.C., and author of the 'Lex Iulia de civitate sociis danda.' They both were put to death by Marius and Cinna when they obtained possession of the city in 87 B.C.

The uncle referred to was L. Julius Caesar, Consul in 64 B.C., the year before Cicero himself, and his firm supporter in suppressing the conspiracy of Catiline.

l. 17. **Sed eum.** After the long parenthesis, the thread of the sentence is resumed with 'sed,' in a manner not infrequent in Cicero. Cp. 2. 3, 5 'Sed quo beneficio?' ib. 4, 8; 32, 80.

l. 20. **Ius . . aequum**, 'I will make a proposition which seems to me so fair, that I think Antony will not refuse to entertain it.' The manifest equity of the proposal entitles Cicero afterwards to term it 'postulatio.' See on 2. 29, 72.

l. 26. **Ut civi**, i. e. without violent and illegal use of arms.

Sui defendendi causa. The usual pretext of all tyrants for obtaining a body-guard. So Peisistratus, *τρωματίσας ἑωυτὸν ἐδέετο τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι* Hdt. 1. 59, 5. Cp. Phil. 2. 8, 19 'Quid est dementius, quam, cum rei publicae perniciosa arma ipse ceperis, obiicere alteri salutaria?'

l. 32. **Feremus amici naturam**, 'we will not quarrel with the humour of a friend,' rather than (with Mr. Long) 'we will bear with his humour like friends,' which does not harmonize with the resumption of 'familiares' in 'idem illi.'

Locuntur. So the Vatican MS. Halm reads 'loquuntur,' but the Romans appear to have avoided with especial care the concurrence of 'uu.'

P. 17. l. 1. **Nec erit iustior**, &c. The meaning of this clause seems to be that, 'if sickness is, as all allow, a valid excuse for absence from the senate, surely the danger of death is at least as valid, and Cicero would be fully justified, if these threats continue, in refusing to expose himself to obvious peril of his life.'

l. 3. **Sed per deos immortales!** The sentence, interrupted after this exclamation, is virtually though not formally resumed in § 30, with the words 'Recordare, quaeso, Dolabella,' &c. Cicero, being

as yet unwilling to make the rupture with Antony final, here attributes the unpatriotic conduct of the Consuls to an error of judgment.

l. 3. **Qui es mihi carissimus.** These words rest solely on the authority of the second writer in the Vatican MS.

l. 5. **Nobiles homines.** The word 'nobiles' is here used in its strictly technical sense, 'belonging to families ennobled by the tenure of curule offices.'

l. 6. **Nimis creduli.** Yet at the end of November in this same year, Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, Att. 16. 15, 1, speaks of Dolabella as having betrayed a client's cause, 'emptus pecunia.'

l. 7. **Ab amplissimo quoque,** 'by each *in proportion* to his dignity and honour;' the usual force of the superlative with 'quisque.'

l. 8. **Opes violentas,** 'resources founded on violence.' Cicero frequently draws a similar distinction between 'money' and the wider expression 'opes:' cp. Lael. 6, 22 'Ceterae res, quae expetuntur, opportunae sunt singulae rebus fere singulis, divitiae ut utare, opes ut colare, honores ut laudere.'

l. 10. **Est autem gloria.** Cp. c. 14, 33; and Tusc. 3. 2, 3 'Ea (gloria) est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene iudicantium de excellenti virtute, ea virtuti resonat tamquam imago: quae quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda.'

l. 15. **Expiato foro, &c.** See on § 5.

l. 17. **Cuius ordinis, &c.,** 'what rank, or family, or fortune, then could hinder men from pressing forward to congratulate and praise you?'

l. 19. **Quin mihi etiam, &c.** Cp. Cicero's letter to Dolabella, Att. 14. 17 A, 1 'Neminem conveni . . . quin omnes, cum te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi continuo gratias maximas agant. Negant enim se dubitare, quin tu, meis praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans, praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebeas.'

l. 22. **Earum rerum obliti.** Dolabella, being greatly in debt, and finding that Caesar would do nothing for him, caused himself to be adopted into the plebeian family of Cn. Lentulus, and thus became eligible for the tribuneship, which he obtained in 48 B.C. He then proposed a general abolition of debts, which gave rise to great tumults, the opposition being headed by his colleague L. Trebellius: and these tumults being repeated on the day of voting, Dolabella's party was defeated, and the motion lost, mainly through the influence of Antony, then Caesar's Master of the Horse.

cc. 13–15. *Apostrophizing Antony in his absence, he reminds him of his magnanimous and patriotic conduct during the few days immediately following the death of Caesar. Especially he thanks him for abolishing the dictatorship; and pointing out the infamy with*

which he thereby branded the last holder of the office, he laments that instead of following the example of M. Antonius, his grandfather, he should seek to imitate Caesar, by striving after supreme power and desiring to be feared. At the same time he warns both Antony and Dolabella that the public voice was everywhere against the memory of Caesar, and in favour of constitutional authority, and that any one who sought to rival the dictator's power must be prepared to meet with the dictator's fate.

He ends his oration by declaring his undying zeal for the good of the state, and thanking the senate for the kindness with which they had listened to him.

l. 27. **Unum illum diem.** See on § 1.

l. 30. **Veterani.** Their fear would probably be lest the grants of land made by Caesar should be revoked; for otherwise the interests of the soldiery would lie on the side of war and tumult. The suggestion of Graevius, that 'veterani' is the genitive ('from what fear of the veteran soldiery'), 'veteranus' being used like 'eques' or 'pedes,' is improbable, and unsupported by any similar use of the word.

l. 32. **Auspiciorum**; by which he had declared the election of Dolabella to be invalid. See 2. 33, 82 and 83.

P. 18. l. 1. **Tuus parvus filius.** See on § 2.

l. 10. **M. Manlii**, the preserver of Rome from the night attack of the Gauls, 390 B.C.; in consequence of whose subsequent attempt, 384 B.C., to raise himself to despotic power, the Manlia gens passed a resolution that none of them should thenceforth bear the praenomen of Marcus, Livy 6. 20. According to Dion Cassius, 51. 19, a similar decree was passed in the family of the Antonii, after the battle of Actium, to mark their repudiation of M. Antonius.

l. 11. **Patricium**; there being also plebeian families of Manlii.

l. 18. **Nihil in te sordidum.** Yet in the next oration, c. 14, 35, he does not hesitate to attribute the conduct of Antony to the basest greed for money, and in the same oration, c. 16, 40 and 41, he points out his discreditable avarice in securing, by any means, the succession to the property even of utter strangers. It is probable, however, that Cicero here refers to his liberality in spending money, which Plutarch (vit. Anton. 4) shows to have been remarkable.

l. 19. **Domestici**; referring especially to his wife Fulvia, whose avarice was notorious. Cp. 5. 4, 11 'Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius rei publicae nundinae: mulier, sibi felicior quam viris, auctionem provinciarum regnorumque faciebat.'

l. 23. **Metui a civibus tuis.** Some MSS. add 'quam diligi malis,' but these words seem to have been inserted (perhaps from Off. 2. 8, 29 'Dum metui, quam cari esse, et diligi maluimus') by some copyist, who

did not see that 'metui' depends on 'gloriosum,' and is parallel to 'plus te unum posse.' 'You think that glory consists in being more powerful than all your fellow-citizens together, and in being the object of their dread.'

l. 26. **Imbecillum, caducum,** 'a sign of weakness and impending ruin.'

l. 27. **Oderint, dum metuant.** These words, probably from Attius, are quoted with abhorrence by Seneca, de Ira, I. 20, 4 'qualis illa dira et abominanda, Oderint dum metuant:' and again by Cicero, Off. I. 28, 97, as a wicked sentiment, but yet appropriately put into the mouth of some characters, 'Atreo dicente plausus excitantur. Est enim digna persona oratio.'

l. 29. **De quo tamen,** &c. 'Tamen' rather apologizes for the utterance of the wish, than qualifies its meaning. 'And yet there ought to be no doubt of your doing so, considering how often you have heard so much from me concerning him.'

l. 31. **Ut . . . . metueretur,** 'at the price of being feared.' Cp. Nat. Deor. I. 24, 67 'Quid enim mereas, ut Epicurus esse desinas?' 'what would you take to give up Epicureanism?'

l. 33. **Parem ceteris.** So the Vatican MS. Vulg. 'parem cum ceteris,' which though an unusual construction is not unparalleled. Cp. Brut. 59. 215 'Paria cum Crasso.'

P. 19. l. 1. **Supremum diem.** See on § 27.

l. 2. **Dominatum.** His four successive consulships, 87–84 B.C., called also by Tacitus, Ann. I. 1, 'dominatio.' Among the leading men in Rome, besides M. Antonius and L. Caesar, L. Merula, Q. Catulus, Cn. Octavius and others fell victims to his tyranny.

l. 5. **Carus esse quam metui.** Cp. 2. 44, 112 'Caritate te et benevolentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis.'

l. 11. **Nec unctus.** If the reading be genuine, 'unctus' probably means 'distinguished,' like 'lautus,' for which sense however there is apparently no authority elsewhere, the nearest approach to it being a metaphorical use of the word as applied to language, Brut. 20, 78 'Iam enim erat unctior quaedam splendidiorque consuetudo loquendi.'

l. 13. **Iudicia multa.** Showing, that is, the rigour with which they exact true patriotism as a necessary condition of popularity.

l. 14. **Gladiatoribus,** 'at the time of the gladiators' shows.' Cp. Att. 2. 1, 5 'Quaerit ex me, num consuessem Siculis locum gladiatoribus dare;' ib. 19, 3 'Gladiatoribus qua dominus qua advocati sibilis conscissi: ludis Apollinaribus, Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pompeium petulanter invectus est.' So in Greek, *τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς*, 'when the new tragedies were acted:' ap. Dem. Cor. p. 243, 16.

l. 15. **Populi versus.** Extempore effusions, by which the people on any public occasion expressed their views on the events and characters

of the day; in the present instance probably either praising Caesar's murderers, or reviling those who sought to emulate him in crushing the liberty of the state. 'Significo' appears to be the technical word for such expression of opinion: cp. pro Sest. 50, 106 'Tribus locis significari maxime populi Romani iudicium ac voluntas potest, contione, comitiis, ludorum gladiatorumque consessu.'

Pompei statuae, the statue of Pompey in the Curia Pompei, at the foot of which Caesar was assassinated, and which is therefore represented as looking with a favourable eye upon his death. A statue, believed to be the one in question,

'yet existent in
The austerest form of naked majesty,'

is preserved in the Palazzo Spada at Rome.

l. 16. **Duobus tribunis plebis**, 'the applause bestowed on the two tribunes of the commons,' 'tribunis,' like 'statuae,' being the dative. Cicero, Phil. 3. 9, 23, enumerates three tribunes of the commons among the enemies of Antony, L. Cassius, D. Carfulenus, and Ti. Canutius, the last-named being also mentioned by Velleius, 2. 64, 2, as a bitter antagonist who 'continua rabie lacerabat Antonium.' The other one referred to here is probably L. Cassius, the brother of C. Cassius: cp. Att. 14. 2, 1 'Plausus L. Cassio datus etiam facetus mihi quidem visus est.'

l. 18. **Apollinarium ludorum plausus**, 'applause,' not merely as at the gladiators' shows, at the time of the games, but 'bestowed upon the games themselves,' and so by implication on Brutus, who as 'praetor urbanus' had defrayed their expense, though he did not dare to trust himself in Rome. The presidency of the games, in his absence, was entrusted to C. Antonius. The games took place every year on the 6th of July.

l. 20. **O beatos illos.** Brutus, Cassius, and their adherents, who, though banished from the city, yet remained rooted in the hearts and breasts of the people.

l. 23. **Attio.** The play acted at these games was the Tereus of Attius. Cp. Cic. Att. 16. 2, 3 'Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur, et habere maiorem Attio quam Antonio gratiam.' Cicero argues that this unwonted demonstration in favour of so old a play could only be due to the circumstances under which it was acted.

l. 26. **Tribuerit**, 'have shown their zeal, which still remains, while at the time they soothed their regret.' Each tense has thus its proper and distinct meaning, and the various emendations, 'tribueret,' found as a correction in the Vatican MS., and adopted by Halm, or 'lenierit,' are quite unnecessary.

l. 28. **Cum popularibus tribuerentur**, 'as a mere tribute of praise to citizens who court popular favour.' One MS. and many editors read

'a popularibus,' apparently from a wish to make it harmonize with 'a summis,' &c., interpreting 'populares' and 'qui sequi populi consensum solebant' to mean 'citizens who follow in the wake of public opinion, and always shout with the majority:' but besides the strangeness of meaning thus given to 'populares,' the difference of mood and tense in the two clauses shows that they were in no way intended to be parallel.

l. 31. **Qui . . . . solebant,** 'who used to follow public opinion,' but see that the present is no time to show themselves, since now it is not demagogues, but honest men, who are being cheered.

P. 20. l. 4. **Tantam tamen,** &c., 'yet whom can we remember whose health excited such anxiety, such fear in all good men?' Fear, that is, of the consequences should the state be left unprotected by the death of the Consul elect. As late as the last week in December Cicero writes to a friend that 'Hirtius noster tardius convalescit,' Fam. 12. 22, 1. Cp. Phil. 7. 4, 12; 8. 2, 5.

l. 7. **Quid? eos,** &c. 'If the Romans care so much for the life of those whom they hope to find serving the interests of the state, think ye they will pass over your proceedings without notice,' when they see you trying to reimpose on them the yoke of slavery? Vulg. 'Quid eos . . . . cogitare censetis?'

l. 9. **Fructum.** In clearing his own conscience, and in experiencing the kindness and attention of the senate.

l. 10. **Quicumque casus.** Cp. c. 4, 10.

l. 13. **Utar,** without 'ea.' Cp. pro Sulla 33, 92 'Quae prima innocentis mihi defensio est oblata suscepi.'

l. 14. **Mihi fere satis est,** &c., 'I have lived long enough to satisfy my desire of life, and to fill up the measure of my fame.' Cp. Fam. 10. 1, 1 'Mihi maximae curae est, non de mea quidem vita, cui satisfeci, vel aetate, vel factis, vel (si quid etiam hoc ad rem pertinet) gloria: sed me patria sollicitat,' and Att. 14. 21, 3 'Mihi quidem *βεβίωται*.'

THE SECOND PHILIPPIC ORATION

c. 1. *Cicero opens his speech by remarking on his peculiar destiny, that he was always personally involved in conflict with every citizen who had proved himself a traitor to the state. Generally he was the aggressor, but Antony had taken the initiative in a speech of more than ordinary virulence. After reviewing all the motives which suggested themselves for such a course, he concludes that Antony must have wished to make his treason unmistakeable, by attacking so notorious a patriot.*

P. 24. l. 1. **Nemo.** He mentions by name Catiline and Clodius, but the point of his sarcasm is not a little blunted by the omission of Caesar,

from whom he had received too many favours to enumerate him among his personal enemies.

l. 2. **His annis viginti**, 'within these twenty years:' a less exact description of time than 'ante hos viginti annos,' or 'abhinc viginti annos,' though according to the inclusive mode of reckoning in vogue at Rome it was just twenty years since the conspiracy of Catiline, 63 B.C.

Bellum indixerit: cp. pro Sulla, 9, 28 'Cum mihi uni cum omnibus improbis aeternum videam esse bellum susceptum.'

l. 5. **Optarem**, 'than I should wish them to have paid, did it still depend on me.' Heumann's conjecture 'optaram,' adopted by Mueller, is needless, and would rather express that Cicero had determined in his own mind some less penalty which he had wished that they should pay.

l. 8. **Voluntarius**, 'of his own accord, without having been first attacked by me.'

l. 9. **Ut . . . viderere.** These words go better with 'lacessisti' than with 'violatus;' 'you attacked me, to prove yourself more daring than Catiline, more insane than Clodius.'

l. 12. **Quid putem?** Of the four conceivable reasons for Antony's conduct, viz. 1. contempt of Cicero, 2. a mistaken estimate of their respective positions with the senate, 3. a desire to rival him in oratory, 4. a wish to prove his own disloyalty, by attacking the noblest of patriots, Cicero rejects the first three as untenable, and adopts the fourth.

l. 13. **In vita**, 'in my private life,' as opposed to 'in rebus gestis,' 'in the actions of official life.'

l. 17. **Uni conservatae**: so Cat. 4. 10, 20 'Ceteris semper bene gesta, mihi uni conservata republica gratulationem decrevistis.' Cp. also Cat. 3. 6, 15, Phil. 14. 8, 24.

l. 19. **Hoc quidem**, 'this is indeed the greatest kindness he could show me.'

P. 25. l. 1. **Illud profecto.** So the Vatican MS. The others add 'est:' but 'illud' depends on some such word as 'putavit,' to be supplied from 'non existimavit.'

cc. 2, 3. *He began by charging Cicero with being false to ties of friendship, by opposing him in a lawsuit. Cicero replies, first generally, that he was pleading against Antony, with whom he was wholly unconnected, for a friend, and in the cause of justice: then in detail he denies that Antony was an intimate of his house, or that he owed his augurship to the courtesy of Antony, who could not possibly have stood against him; or that Antony had any claim upon his gratitude, unless it constituted a claim that he had once abstained from murdering him.*

Even if the most were made of this, it could not outweigh Cicero's plain duty in denouncing Antony when he violated every duty of a citizen, a magistrate, and a man.

l. 6. **Contra rem suam.** In some trial, of the particulars of which we know nothing, but in which, from Cicero's expression, Antony was rather indirectly than directly interested. So far as we can gather, it would seem probable that the suit in question was brought by Sicca, Cicero's Sicilian friend, against some associate of Antony's, and that the latter, finding the suit going against his friend, prevailed on a certain tribune of the commons, whose favour he had gained by companionship in profligacy, to stop the proceedings by his veto.

l. 9. **Non venirem contra iniuriam,** &c., 'was I not to oppose a wrong which Antony carried through, not by due course of law in the praetor's court, but by favour of a veto from the most unscrupulous of tribunes?' It appears from the speech against Vatinius, 14, 33, that such exercise of the veto was at least an unusual, if not an absolutely illegal practice: 'Fecerisne, quod in hac re publica non modo factum antea numquam est, sed in omni memoria est omnino inauditum? appellarisne tribunos plebis, ne causam diceres?'

l. 12. **Te** is inserted by Halm, following Orelli, as necessary for the construction.

Libertini generum. Fadia was his first wife. According to Suetonius, Claud. 24, the original meaning of this word 'libertinus' was a freedman's son, as opposed to 'libertus,' a freedman: but in all extant authors in whom we find the words, from Plautus onwards, they both denote the actual freedman, 'libertinus' absolutely, in respect of his condition in the state, 'libertus' in his relation to his former master.

l. 14. **Fuisse.** Fadius being apparently already dead, so that the tie between him and Antony was no longer in existence.

At enim. Here Cicero introduces, and refutes, the several arguments whereby Antony had sought to prove that he was not 'alienus,' but bound to Cicero by the closest ties.

In disciplinam. 'You had placed yourself under my instruction.'

l. 15. **Ne tu.** All the MSS. concur in the orthography 'ne,' rather than 'nae,' which appears to be a later device of spelling for the sake of distinction from the conjunction. In Cicero this adverb is never found except in combination with a pronoun. Cp. c. 30, 76.

l. 17. **C. Curionem.** See c. 18, 44–46. It was to Curio's influence that Antony owed his election to the augurship, 53 B.C., three years after Cicero's admission to the college.

l. 18. **Mihi te concessisse,** 'you retired in my favour from the contest for the augurship.'

l. 20. **A toto collegio.** The number of the augurs was increased by Sulla to fifteen, by Caesar to sixteen. The nomination by two augurs perhaps was a relic of the time when their whole number was only three, and any vacancy was filled by the 'cooptatio' of the two survivors. By the 'Lex Domitia de Sacerdotiis,' passed 103 B.C., and re-enacted 63 B.C., the election to the college of augurs was vested in seventeen out of the thirty-five tribes chosen by lot.

l. 22. **Nec solvendo eras,** 'were insolvent;' lit. 'not in a condition to pay your debts.' Cp. Livy 2. 9 'Tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent.' This use of the dative is closely allied to its employment as marking the destination in official titles: cp. Livy 10. 8 'Decemviri sacris faciundis;' Id. 2. 8 'Comitia collegae subrogando habuit:' and see Madv. § 415, Obs. 1.

l. 23. **Fore incolumem,** 'could escape bankruptcy.'

l. 28. **Semper prae me tuli**: see on 1. 4, 11.

l. 30. **Minus prudenti,** 'who does not look at the matter in its right light.'

Sed quo: see on 1. 11, 27.

P. 26. l. 3. **Quod si esset beneficium.** Cicero's argument is, that the general voice of the Roman people, in holding the assassins of Caesar, who had owed their lives to him, to be yet worthy of the highest praise, declared that no gratitude was due to any one who merely abstained from exercising illegal power over the lives of his fellow-citizens.

l. 8. **Interfectum** *me*. 'Me' is a conjecture of Madvig's, being absent from the MSS. He urges that its insertion is absolutely necessary, since 'nudum participium pro tota sententia infinita nullo exemplo nulla ratione ponitur' Opusc. 1. p. 207.

l. 12. **In illa querella,** sc. the first Philippic, in which, as we have seen, his tone towards Antony was comparatively moderate.

Misera quidem. With this concessive use of 'quidem' it is usual to insert the pronoun, 'misera illa quidem,' but its absence here is due to its occurrence immediately before.

l. 13. **Pro hoc gradu,** 'in consideration of my consular rank.' For the view which Cicero entertained of the responsibilities involved by this position, see 1. 6, 14 and 15.

l. 17. **Reliquias,** 'what treasures the state had still remaining.' Cp. 1. 7, 17.

l. 18. **Domi tuae**: Cp. cc. 14, 35; 36, 92; 37, 95; 45, 115.

l. 20. **De te,** 'to benefit yourself.' This was forbidden by a 'Lex Licinia' and a 'Lex Aebutia,' both of uncertain date. We learn from 11. 6, 13 that he had placed himself on a commission for dividing public lands; 'Duos collegas Antoniorum et Dolabellae, Nuculam

et Lentonem, Italiae divisores lege ea, quam senatus per vim latam iudicavit.'

l. 20. **A te**, and therefore not among the 'acta Caesaris.'

Auspicia augur, intercessionem consul. The first in passing his Agrarian law, which was in double defiance of the omens, both because they were at the time adverse, and because he proposed it in conjunction with Dolabella, whose election he had himself pronounced void, in consequence of unfavourable omens, see c. 32, 81; Phil. 5. 3, 7: the second, by filling the forum with armed men, and so forcibly overbearing any opposition, Ib. 4, 9.

l. 22. **Impudica**: so the Vat. MS.; Vulg. 'pudica,' which probably is derived from c. 28, 69 'Quid enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina?' Here however it is more appropriate to find an epithet descriptive of the present condition of the house, than a reference to its former purity when in the possession of Pompey.

l. 24. **M. Crasso**, the colleague of Caesar and Pompey, who fell in battle against the Parthians, 55 B.C. Cicero professed the greatest admiration for him in public; and a letter to him is extant, full of the warmest protestations of friendship, Fam. 5. 8; but in speaking of him to his intimate friends, he always expresses distrust of him; see Att. 1. 14, 3 and 4; Fam. 14. 2, 2.

l. 25. **Uno.** Halm takes this with 'nequissimo,' 'most especially wicked;' but it is rather equivalent to 'aliquo,' with a shade of contempt conveyed in it, 'with a certain most abandoned gladiator.' Cp. Att. 9. 10, 2 'Me una haec res torquet, quod non . . . Pompeium, tamquam unus manipularis, secutus sim:' and Plaut. Truc. 2. 1, 39 'Sed est huic unus servos violentissumus.'

c. 4. *As regards the letters which Antony had read, while wondering at his want of manners in publishing private correspondence, and at his folly in producing documents whose authenticity he could not prove, Cicero urges that the only charge against him which they could support was that he used too much courtesy in addressing Antony. He would not produce in return the letters which would show Antony in the light of a suppliant to himself.*

l. 28. **Litteras.** A copy of this letter, sent to Atticus for inspection, is preserved, Att. 14. 13 B. It is couched in terms of warm friendship, but in the accompanying letter to Atticus he explains that his complaisance is only feigned, for the sake of temporizing where resistance was useless. For the substance of the letter see on 1. 1, 3.

Diceret. This use of the subjunctive, of words introducing a sentence in the oratio obliqua, though irregular in itself, is not uncommon

in Cicero. Cp. c. 24, 60 'Quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent:' and see Madv. § 357, Obs. 2.

l. 31. **Nosset**, the subjunctive, because the clause describes a particular *class* of men, not an individual.

l. 33. **Quid est aliud**: see on 1. 9, 22.

P. 27. l. 4. **Inhumanitatis.** Halm adds 'tuae,' but it is not found in the Vatican MS., and seems unnecessary. 'So much for his ill breeding: now see the inconceivable folly of the man.'

l. 5. **Tironi et Mustelae.** These men are often mentioned among the satellites of Antony: cp. 8. 9, 26; 12. 6, 14; 13. 2, 3. The latter was a native of Anagnia, and is styled by Cicero 'gladiorum princeps,' c. 41, 106; but nothing more is known of either of them.

l. 8. **Inter sicarios**, 'when tried for murder,' lit. 'when numbered among assassins for trial.' Cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 32, 90 'Sexcenti sunt, qui inter sicarios et de beneficiis accusabant;' Fin. 2. 16, 54 'Cum praetor quaestionem inter sicarios exercuisset.'

l. 11. **Scientiam quaestuosam**: see c. 38, 97.

l. 13. **Nihil sapere**, 'to be a fool.' Cp. c. 17, 43, whence we learn that his teacher was Sex. Clodius, a Sicilian rhetorician, whom he rewarded with 2000 'iugera' of Leontine land.

l. 14. **Id obiicere**, &c., 'to bring an objection against an opponent, which requires only his bare denial to stop your further progress in the attack.'

l. 19. **Omne autem tuum crimen**, &c., 'the sole point of your accusation is that in the said letter I express no bad opinion of you.' Cp. below 'existimatio,' 'the *expressed* opinion.'

l. 20. **Scribebam**: so the Vatican MS. Halm and Mueller follow the ordinary reading 'scribam,' but there seems to be a special reason for the difference of mood, in that 'male existimem' only expresses the charge which Antony might have expected Cicero to make against him; whereas 'scribebam' introduces the actual substance of the letter.

l. 24. **Quendam.** Sextus Clodius, the tool of P. Clodius, not the rhetorician mentioned above.

l. 30. **Meam gratiam**, 'he wished me to have the credit of the action.'

l. 31. **Lege lata**: see 1. 1, 3, where Antony is represented as expressly declaring that Sextus Clodius was the one exile whom the act that Caesar had passed restored to his country; so that the gratitude of Sextus Clodius would be due to Caesar, and not to Antony.

cc. 5–7. *Apologizing for his unwonted egotism in speaking of his own merits, Cicero answers the attack which Antony had made upon his consulship, by appealing to the approbation of his conduct expressed*

by all the leading men of his time: contrasting in this respect the consulship of Antony, which was only marked by deeds of unconstitutional violence, calculated to win applause from the base companions of his revels.

l. 33. **Alterum peto**, &c. The reason for the different tone he takes with regard to the two divisions of his speech may be found in the beginning of Demosthenes' speech de Corona, p. 226. 20 *φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι.* Accordingly, while judiciously apologizing for the part concerning himself, he gains greater attention even for this portion of his speech, by the promise of the more exciting invective which is to follow. His appeal, moreover, to his usual moderation is not without its object, as serving to show that nothing but the atrocity of the case could have led him to break forth at such length on the present occasion.

P. 28. l. 7. **Quod ita factus est.** Since he had been nominated by Caesar, not elected by the free vote of the people. Cp. c. 32, 79 'Iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso.' See on c. 30, 76. For the use of 'ita' as a predicate, see Madv. § 209 b. Obs. 2.

l. 8. **Ut igitur intelligeretis**, &c. He uses a similar argument in the speech against Piso, 7. 14 'Relatio illa salutaris et diligens fuit consulis, animadversio quidem et iudicium senatus: quae cum reprehendis, ostendis qualis tu, si ita forte accidisset, fueris illo tempore consul futurus.'

l. 17. **Tibi.** One MS. has 'te . . manet,' which would simply mean 'awaits you,' whereas 'tibi' is a pure dativus commodi, 'is reserved in all its force for your benefit.' So Virg. Aen. 9. 301

> 'Quae tibi polliceor reduci, rebusque secundis,
> Haec eadem matrique tuae generique manebunt,'

'shall be confirmed without diminution to your mother and your family.'

Id domus tuae est. Fulvia, who before she married Antony, had been the wife of P. Clodius and C. Scribonius Curio, who fell in the war with Juba, before Utica, 49 B.C. Halm retains the ordinary meaning 'domi tuae,' 'in your house;' but 'domus,' the reading of the Vatican MS., is more appropriate, signifying 'there exists as part of your household that which proved the death of both of them.'

l. 19. **P. Servilio**, &c. The 'consulares' whose names he here enumerates all held the consulship in the course of the seventeen years immediately preceding the conspiracy of Catiline, with the exception of D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, who were then Consuls elect. The most eminent among them were P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, the repressor of the Cilician and Isaurian pirates, 79 B.C.; L. Lucullus,

the conqueror of Mithridates; M. Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Caesar and Pompey in the so-called first triumvirate, 61 B.C.; and L. Hortensius the orator.

l. 20. **Proxime.** He had died in the early part of this same year, at the advanced age of 80.

l. 25. **M. Catoni.** Cato's speech on the 5th of December turned the scale against the conspirators, in whose behalf the speech of Caesar had produced a great effect.

l. 26. **Cum multa . . . providit**, &c., 'by hastening his death he avoided many evils, and chief of them the sight of you as Consul.' Cato killed himself at Utica, 46 B.C., to avoid falling into Caesar's hands.

l. 27. **Cn. Pompeius** had been absent from Rome at the time of Cicero's consulship, and on first hearing of its events had been wanting in his congratulations, of which Cicero complains to him in an extant letter, Fam. 5. 8.

l. 33. **Referret acceptam**, 'gave me credit for the boon of life.' The metaphor is taken from keeping accounts, in which 'referre acceptam' is 'to enter in the column of money received,' 'referre expensam' 'to enter in that of money paid.' Cp. c. 22, 55 'Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus . . . uni accepta referemus Antonio.'

P. 29. 2. **Qui duo**, 'of whom two.' The Latin idiom, more logical than the English, never uses the genitive with numerals, unless some real partition is expressed. See Madv. 284. Obs. 7.

l. 3. **L. Cotta**, Consul 65 B.C., the year of the first conspiracy of Catiline, showed his friendship for Cicero, not only by proposing the 'supplicatio' (see on 1. 6, 13) in his honour, but later, by proposing his recall from exile.

l. 9. **Vitricum tuum.** After the death of M. Antonius the elder, Julia married P. Lentulus Sura, the man of most note among the associates of Catiline, who was put to death in prison on the special motion of his brother-in-law L. Julius Caesar. Cp. Cat. 4. 6, 13.

l. 12. **Alienus . . . consul**, 'a stranger in blood, and in the highest position in the state, I thought no scorn to seek his counsels.'

l. 15. **Quorum nobis**, &c., 'whose birthdays must needs be dinned into even our ears.' Such is the shamelessness of the man, that he not only celebrates the birthdays of his minions, but he cannot be content without letting the very senate know of it.

l. 16. **Non descendit**, 'comes not down to the senate;' not necessarily implying literal descent, since Antony's house was in the low ground of the Carinae, but as most people in Rome lived on the hills, it was usual to talk of their 'coming down' to the Forum, or the Campus, or any place of public resort.

Nataliciam, sc. 'cenam.' So Halm from the Vatican MS. Vulg.

'natalicia,' sc. 'munera,' like 'sponsalia.' Cp. ad Q. Fratr. 2. 6, 1 'A.D. viii. Id. Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi praebui.'

l. 17. **Phormioni**, &c., characters from well-known comedies, the former two being parasites in the Phormio and Eunuchus respectively of Terence, Ballio a pander in the Pseudolus of Plautus.

l. 23. **Tuus videlicet**, &c. Cicero here begins another point in his answer, by taking up again the summary of Antony's charge against him, from the beginning of § 12 'non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus.'

l. 24. **Pudorem cum pudicitia**, 'all sense of shame, as well as purity:' 'pudor' being purity of mind, 'pudicitia' purity of body. Thus they are contrasted with 'petulantia' and 'stuprum' respectively, Cat. 2. 11, 35.

l. 25. **In eo templo.** In the shrine of Concord, see c. 8, 19. This was at the N. E. corner of the Forum, close under the Capitol. The raised floor of it, paved with marble, still remains. The Clivus Capitolinus, that portion of the Via Sacra which wound up the slope of the Capitoline hill, passed just to the south of the Aedes Concordiae, only separated from it by the Senaculum.

l. 26. **Quondam.** Before the ruin brought upon the state by the civil war, and more recently by the oppressive measures of Antony. In his speech pro Mil. 33, 90, Cicero calls the senate house which was burnt at the funeral of Clodius 'templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, caput urbis, portum omnium gentium.'

l. 29. **Servorum armatorum.** So Antony styled the knights, as being wholly subservient to Cicero. To arm *slaves* was in itself contrary to law.

l. 31. **Afferebam**, 'I was proposing to employ.'

O miser, &c. Cp. c. 22, 54 'O miserum te, si haec intelligis, miseriorem, si non intelligis.' Some MSS. have 'miserum' here, but cp. 13. 17, 34 'O miser, cum re, tum hoc ipso, quod non sentis quam miser sis.'

P. 30. 1. **Nobilis.** See on 1. 12, 29.

l. 3. **Nomen non dedit**, 'did not enrol his name for service.' Cicero says that the very slaves hastened to volunteer for the preservation of the state, Cat. 4. 8, 16 'Servus est nemo qui modo tolerabili conditione sit servitutis . . qui non quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad salutem voluntatis.'

l. 5. **De patriae parricidio.** The words 'parricidium,' 'parricida,' as applied to treason against the state, seem always to have a conscious reference to the metaphor of the state being the parent of her citizens, as in Val. Max. 6. 4, 5 'M. Brutus suarum prius virtutum quam patriae parentis parricida.' See also c. 13, 31.

l. 7. **Se . . . consensisse.** The infinitive is explanatory of 'de patriae parricidio confiterentur.' 'Consentio' is more usually found in a good sense, 'to agree together;' but cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 8, 18 'belli faciendi causa consensisse.'

cc. 7, 8. *In particular Antony had charged Cicero with refusing burial to his step-father. Denying the fact, Cicero rebukes his folly in reminding the senate that Lentulus was his step-father; in laying on him the blame of a punishment for which the senate was itself responsible; and in bringing forward any charge of violence, while guilty at the moment of the grosser violence of blocking up the senate with barbarian mercenaries. He takes occasion by the way to vindicate his own poetry from the impotent assault of Antony's wit.*

l. 11. **Ad sepulturam,** &c. Cicero here passes to a fresh charge of Antony against him; rather abruptly, but the 'ad' with which the clause begins may account for the absence of the usual 'at.' The charge itself is declared to be false by Plutarch, who asserts, Ant. c. 2, that not only P. Lentulus, but all the conspirators who were killed were given up for burial.

l. 14. **Eum,** which is found in the Vatican MS., appears to be here superfluous, unless indeed the true reading be 'cui quia iure inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis eum esse superatum;' as has been conjectured by Stürenburg, on pro Arch. p. 185.

l. 16. **P. Lentulus Sura** was Consul in 71 B.C. His dissolute life led to his expulsion from the senate in the following year, but he was again made praetor in 63 B.C., and held that office at the time of the conspiracy. See on c. 6, 13.

l. 20. **Disiuncta.** So the Vatican MS. spells the word, in this place only. It means 'contradictory to each other,' in the logical sense of the word. Cp. c. 13, 32 'Quae diiunctius dicuntur,' 'what is put in the form of a dilemma;' and Top. 14, 56 'In diiunctione plus uno verum esse non potest.'

l. 26. **Quem contra dicit.** So Cicero always, the first use of the compound word 'contradico' being apparently found in Livy 8. 2 'nec contradici, quin . . . amicitia de integro reconcilietur;' while its usage with a dative is wholly post-Augustan.

l. 30. **Inter subsellia nostra.** In the very senate house itself (see on c. 7, 15), where, if anywhere, freedom from violence might have been confidently expected.

P. 31. l. 1. **Qui copulatus fuit.** See Cat. 4. 7, 15, where Cicero tells us that the knights, after many years of struggling with the senate,—the most prominent subject of dispute being the exclusive

right to the 'iudicium,'—had shown the greatest cordiality in combining with them to repress the sedition.

l. 3. **Ityraeis.** These men, whom he again alludes to as 'barbari sagittarii' in 5. 6, 18, were first introduced into the Roman army as archers by Caesar in his African campaign, 47 B.C. (Bell. Afric. c. 20); their country, which lies on the east bank of the Jordan, to the north-east of the sea of Galilee, having been subdued by Pompey in 63 B.C.

l. 4. **Sed quia . . . videas,** 'because you do not see how great an inconsistency is involved.' The use of 'quia' with the subjunctive, though found in the Vatican MS., seems to be an anomaly. Orelli, followed by Mueller, reads 'qui' for quia, with the later MSS. In other passages where 'quia' is joined with a subjunctive (as Lael. 4, 15 'ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim') the reason which it introduces is obviously quoted as existing in the mind of some one else.

l. 9. **In quo,** &c., 'and yet you deserve some blame for failing.' The 'mima uxor' who should have supplied Antony with wit was Cytheris, formerly the mistress of Volumnius Eutrapelus, Fam. 9. 26, 2; whence Cicero tells us that certain 'municipales' saluted her, when travelling with Antony, as Volumnia, c. 24, 58; cp. 28, 69.

l. 10. **Cedant arma togae.** Cp. Off. 1. 22, 77; when he deprecates hostile criticism of the line 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.' It is one of four, which are all that remain to us of his epic poem in three books, de Meis Temporibus.

l. 17. **Perfecisse ut.** Between these words some MSS. introduce 'operis subsecivis,' which are wanting in the Vatican MS. The expression would mean 'bits of work, done at odd times,' and it is so used by Cicero, de Or. 2. 89, 364, but with an apologetic 'ut aiunt,' as though the metaphor were then a new one; and this is borne out by a more elaborate explanation of it in the treatise de Legg. 1. 3, 9.

cc. 9, 10. *Antony had laid at Cicero's door the death of Clodius. Cicero replies that Milo needed and allowed no aid or countenance; and that he only shared the feelings of every patriot in rejoicing at a deed which Antony himself had once before attempted. As regarded the charge of causing the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey, Cicero had indeed endeavoured to prevent their friendship; and failing in this, had tried to keep Pompey from violating the laws; but when their alliance had been once completed, he used his utmost efforts to maintain harmony between them.*

l. 22. **Tu illum . . . insecutus es.** This as we learn rom c. 20, 49, was when Antony was a candidate for the qu aestor p, in 53 B.C., the year before Clodius was killed by Milo.

l. 24. **In scalas.** This would be the staircase leading from the shop on the ground floor to the upper room, inhabited by the shopman. Cp. pro Mil. 15, 40 'Cum se ille (Clodius) fugiens in scalarum tenebris abdidisset.' So the runaway slave in Horace, 'In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae,' Epp. 2. 2, 15.

l. 26. **Quod . . . favisse . . fateor,** 'herein I confess I gave you the sanction of my approval.' 'Faveo' seems to be here used in its technical sense of applauding (whence 'favitores,' 'claqueurs,' Plaut. Amph. prol. 78 &c.): cp. Hor. Od. 3. 24, 46 'Quo clamor vocat et turba faventium.' Cicero says that in Milo's case he could only rejoice after the event, as he should not have presumed to give him advice on the matter, and the affray was over too quickly to admit of any one cheering him on. For the use of 'quod' limiting the extent of the action of an intransitive verb, see Madv. § 229.

l. 32. **Quamquam . . . fuit quaestio.** And therefore, Cicero implies, had I taken a prominent part in the general rejoicing,—had it been supposed that I was accessory to the deed,—then was the time when such suspicions would have found vent, but then no one asserted that I was in any way implicated. He entirely ignores what he himself had written in his speech for the occasion, pro Mil. 18, 47 'Scitis, iudices, fuisse qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent Milonis manu caedem esse factam, consilio vero maioris alicuius: me videlicet latronem ac sicarium abiecti homines et perditi describebant.'

P. 32. l. 1. Nova lege. This was the 'Lex Pompeia de Vi,' a privilegium passed specially to meet the case of Milo. See on 1. 7, 18.

l. 8. **Temporibus.** Cicero's argument is that until Caesar's power had reached such a height as to be dangerous to the state, he did endeavour to check its growth by warning Pompey against him. When however the alliance between them was cemented by the marriage of Pompey with Julia, Caesar's daughter, which took place in the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus, 59 B.C., he felt that further remonstrance would be both dangerous and useless; though he still kept a watchful eye upon them, and took advantage of two opportunities to advise Pompey not to strain the laws in Caesar's favour.

l. 12. **Ipse . . . diiunxit.** In his speeches pro Sestio, 64, 133, and in Pisonem, 31, 76, Cicero attributes this estrangement to the intrigues and calumnies of Vatinius, Gabinius, and Piso. As these were all the devoted adherents of Caesar, Piso being his father-in-law, they were probably merely acting as his agents in the matter.

l. 17. **Quinquennii imperium.** The provinces of Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum had been conferred on Caesar for five years, by the 'Lex Vatinia,' in 59 B.C. To these the senate added Gallia Transalpina,

and his command in all three was extended, 'prorogabatur imperium,' for a further space of five years, in 55 B.C., by the 'Lex Trebonia,' which received the support of the Consuls, Cn. Pompeius and M. Crassus.

l. 18. **Ratio haberetur.** This was in 53 B.C., when the senate had passed a decree that Pompey should be sole Consul. Though Cicero here claims credit for opposing the proposal that votes should be received for Caesar in his absence, we learn from a letter to Atticus, 7. 1, 4, that he promised Caesar to exert himself in his behalf. In a letter however to A. Caecina, Fam. 6. 6, 5, he says that his advocacy extended, not to urging that the leave should be given, but only to supporting the decision of the people on the matter, 'quoniam ipso consule repugnante populus iusserat.'

l. 25. **Utinam,** &c. Cp. the same letter § 4 'Plurimi sunt testes me et initio, ne coniungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium, et postea, ne seiungeret: coniunctione frangi senatus opes, diiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam.'

l. 27. **Gravitatis,** if the genuine reading, probably means 'consistency,' or 'steadfastness of character;' an absence of which was shown by Pompey in allying himself with Caesar, and dissolving his connexion with the aristocracy. The reading is however doubtful, being added by a later hand to supply a blank in the Vatican MS. Halm suggests 'pietatis.'

cc. 11–13. *The last charge was that Cicero was the contriver of Caesar's death. This was something altogether new, and resting on no evidence. Nor were the liberators men to need his sanction or advice. In rejoicing at the tyrant's death, he agreed with every other loyal citizen. The actual assassins even Antony mentioned with respect, and this, with the special honours which their country granted them, proved them to be, not, as otherwise they must have been, the worst of murderers, but saviours of their country. To be of their number, could he but claim the honour, would be indeed a ground of pride. Though, had the plot been his, he would not have failed to carry it through, by rooting out the kingly power with the king.*

l. 31. **Meo consilio interfectum.** Cp. Fam. 12. 2, 1 'Homo amens et perditus . . . nullam aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani excitentur.'

l. 33. **Praevaricatorem,** 'a collusive accuser,' in league with the accused, to secure his acquittal:—such as Verres sought to gain for himself in Q. Caecilius. The charges, he says, which Antony brings against him, although false, are such as would be most honourable, if true.

P. 33. l. 4. **Citius**, here and Brut. 67, 238, 'Eam ut citius veteratoriam quam oratoriam diceres,' does not seem to be quite equivalent to 'potius' but rather signifies 'it would require less time and argument to induce one to say,' &c.

l. 5. **Iactasse se aliquos**, &c. Plutarch, Caes. 67, tells us that this was actually the fact, and that among others, Gaius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther were put to death by Antonius and Octavianus for the complicity in the act of which they boasted, without however gaining any credit for their assertions.

l. 6. **Ut quisquam vellet.** The anomalous construction of these words, which really depend on 'dixerim,' is probably due to the confusion introduced by the intervening clause, 'ut . . . viderentur,' into the construction of which they are attracted. Otherwise a verb of contrary meaning, 'were so timid,' must be supplied from 'iactasse' after 'quam.'

l. 8. **Adolescentibus neminem occultantibus**, 'young men without discretion to suppress the name of any one.'

l. 10. **Illis auctoribus.** Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 164, objects that they actually perpetrated, and not merely advised the deed. He suggests 'actoribus,' which Mueller adopts. Ernesti thinks the words to be a gloss.

l. 11. **L. Bruti.** See on 1. 6, 13

l. 12. **Ahalae**, of C. Servilius Ahala, who killed Sp. Maelius in 439 B.C. From him Servilia, the mother of M. Brutus, traced her descent. The allusion is to the waxen images or masks of those members of the family who had held curule offices, which were placed by all 'nobiles' in the atrium of their houses. See Pliny N. H. 35. 2, 2.

l. 13. **Foris**, 'from external sources,' as in de Orat. 2. 40, 173 'Foris assumuntur ea, quae non sua vi sed extranea sublevantur.' Hence 'domo,' 'from their home resources,' not 'domi,' 'at home.'

l. 14. **In ea familia.** The allusion is to the fate of Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, the proposer of the first Agrarian law, who according to one story was put to death by his own father in 485 B.C., for aiming at tyranny. See Liv. ii. 41.

l. 15. **Dominatus** is the regular word for absolute power: cp. Off. 2. 1, 2 'Cum dominatu unius omnia tenerentur neque esset usquam consilio aut auctoritati locus;' and see on Phil. 1. 14, 34.

l. 18. **Ad eam ripam**, &c. This perhaps refers to the marshy lake formed at the mouth of the Cydnus, just below Tarsus (see Strabo 14. 5, 11); otherwise it is not easy to see how Caesar's landing on the wrong bank of a small river like the Cydnus should have overthrown Cassius' plans. Of this proposed attempt on Caesar's life we know nothing from other sources.

Quam constituerat. For the omission of the preposition see Madv. § 323 b. Obs. 1.

l. 19. **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus** was son of L. Domitius, who was killed after the battle of Pharsalus by the cavalry of Caesar, by Porcia, the sister of M. Cato Uticensis. He was himself at the battle of Pharsalus, and remained an exile till 46 B.C., when he received the pardon of the conqueror, but remained in the retirement of a private citizen.

l. 24. **Unius**, of Caesar, whose friendship and confidence Trebonius enjoyed up to the time of the assassination. The same may be said of Cimber, cp. Fam. 6. 12, 2.

l. 27. **Quem ego magis**, &c., 'whose antecedents gave me far less reason to suppose that he would do the deed, than to wonder at his having done it.'

l. 30. **An Ahalas**, 'or are they not rather worthy to be called Ahala?' See on § 26. P. Servilius Casca, who aimed the first blow at the dictator, and his brother Gaius, had both been among Caesar's adherents.

l. 32. **Longum est**, 'it would be tedious.' See Madv. § 348 e. Obs. 1.

Idque rei publicae, &c., 'that there were so many, does honour to the state, and has conferred glory on themselves.'

P. 34. l. 3. **Ciceronem exclamavit**, 'shouted out the name of Cicero;' perhaps for the reason Cicero alleges, perhaps because Cicero was now left the most powerful man in the state. It might also be to make the people believe that Cicero was an accomplice in the plot, without his really being so.

l. 5. **Quia.** So Halm, from a conjecture of Graevius. The MSS. have 'qui.'

l. 8. **Laudium.** So the Vatican MS. Cp. 'fraudium,' Off. 3. 18, 75; and in Pis. 19, 44. The other MSS. have the more usual form 'laudum.'

l. 13. **Regnare.** He purposely uses the obnoxious word, 'to rule with kingly sway.'

l. 18. **Pecudis**, 'of the ass,' as we should say: the use of 'pecus' (properly 'a sheep') referring to his intellectual rather than his moral baseness.

Quem ego honoris causa nomino, 'whom I name with all respect,' the usual formula when living persons were spoken of by name, so that no special compliment is thereby intended. Cp. c. 44, 113 'Tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo;' and see on 1. 2, 6. Conventional, however, as the expression was, it gave Cicero some ground for urging the argument that to speak of the

assassin with respect was inconsistent with looking on the accessory as accursed.

l. 23. **Is.** For this redundant use of 'is,' especially after an intervening relative clause, see Madv. § 489 a.

l. 26. **Quam velis causam.** Explanatory of 'hoc,' 'what complexion you would wish to be given to the case of the conspirators.'

l. 27. **Inquam,** '*in other words*, I bid you rouse yourself from sleep.'

An faces admovendae sunt, 'must we apply a lighted torch to stir up a man who can sleep over a question such as this?' The same expression is used metaphorically de Orat. 3. 1, 4 'Verborum faces admovere.' Before 'excitent' Halm inserts [te] from a later copyist in the Vatican MS. It seems to be unnecessary, its omission leaving the clause in the form of a general sentiment, as rendered above.

P. 35. l. 2. **Plus quam,** 'more than can be expressed by the term cut-throats.' See Madv. § 305. Obs. 2.

l. 3. **Parricidas.** See on c. 7, 17.

l. 8. **Legibus solutus,** from the special law, that is, which forbade Brutus, as praetor urbanus, from being absent from the city more than ten nights. Such exemption from the obligation of a particular law could originally only be granted by the people: and so we are told by Asconius, in his preface to Cicero's lost oration pro C. Cornelio, that when the senate first began to grant such immunities, the condition was inserted 'ut de ea re ad populum ferretur,' though by degrees first the actual reference to the people, and eventually even the form of inserting the clause, were discontinued.

l. 9. **Ludi Apollinares.** See on 1. 15, 36.

l. 10. **Provinciae datae.** According to the disposition of Caesar, Brutus was to have had the province of Macedonia, Cassius Syria, on the expiration of their praetorship in the city: but one of the first measures of Antony, on the 18th of March, had been to prevail on the senate to alter this arrangement, giving Brutus Crete, and Cassius Africa.

Quaestores additi. The meaning of this appears from what follows to be that an extraordinary number of quaestors and legates were voted to Brutus and Cassius, as part of the compensation for the loss of the more important provinces.

l. 14. **Diiunctius.** So Halm from the Vatican MS. Other MSS. have 'distinctius,' which is less appropriate than the technical word, which means 'in the form of a dilemma.' See on c. 8, 18.

l. 16. **Ab eodem.** Some MSS. insert 'te,' which is quite in accordance with Cicero's manner: cp. pro Sest. 50, 107 'Habuit de eodem me P. Lentulus consul contionem;' ib. 51, 109 'De me eodem comitiis centuriatis ferebatur.' Halm omits it on the authority of the Vatican MS.

l. 17. **Retexo,** 'I remodel my speech on the hypothesis that I was cognizant of the matter.' So Matius, ap. Cic. Fam. 11. 28, 5 'Me ipse retexam.' Cicero has shown, cc. 11, 12, that Antony's arguments were insufficient to prove his complicity; he now declares that the charge, if proved against him, is but further testimony to his patriotism.

l. 18. **Ut . . . ne.** Cp. Fam. 4. 1, 2 'Trebatio mandavi, ut, si quid tu eum velles ad me mittere, ne recusaret;' 'ut' in each case expressing the general final nature of the clause, 'ne' resuming it with the negative, after a parenthesis. See Madv. § 456.

l. 20. **Celatum me,** 'my being kept in ignorance.' Cp. de Leg. Agr. 2. 5, 11 'Cum me in eorum sermonem insinuarem, celabar, excludebar.' Plutarch, Brut. 12, says that Cicero was not informed of the conspiracy from fear of his natural timidity, exaggerated by the cautiousness of age.

l. 24. **Commendatior,** 'commends itself more to the recollection of mankind for all ages.' Cp. Fam. 12. 26 'Ceteris rebus habeas eos a me commendatissimos.' 'Commendabilis,' besides slightly differing in meaning ('capable of commending itself' rather than actually doing so), is not found earlier than Livy.

l. 25. **In equum Troianum.** Cp. de Orat. 2. 22, 94 'Isocrates, cuius e ludo tamquam ex equo Troiano meri principes exierunt.'

l. 27. **Invidiam istam,** 'I consider the risk of the odium which you wish to excite against me, as nothing in comparison with the chance of the praise which may await me.'

l. 29. **Expulsos et relegatos.** The former is the general word expressing 'driven into exile,' the latter the technical term for exclusion from Rome, without loss of civic rights. Cp. Ov. Trist. 2. 135

'Adde quod edictum, quamvis immane minaxque,
Attamen in poenae nomine lene fuit!
Quippe relegatus, non exsul dicor in illo.'

c. **14.** *If however killing Caesar was a crime, let Antony beware lest he himself be found to be a sharer in it. He was well known to have wished it once, and now he was the person who had reaped the greatest benefit from it, so that the only thing which saved him from suspicion was the feeling that he could have had no part in so meritorious a deed.*

P. 36. l. 5. **Fuissem,** sc. 'in eo numero.'

Non solum regem, sed regnum. Abrami compares Fam. 12. 1, 1 (a letter to Cassius) 'Ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno sed rege liberati videmur;' Att. 14. 14, 2 'Sublato tyranno tyrannida manere video.'

l. 6. **Si meus stilus,** &c. 'Had I been the author of that tragedy, I should not have stopped at the completion of the first act.' The play

on the word 'stilus,' intimated in the words 'ut dicitur,' is untranslateable. Halm compares Hor. S. 2. 1, 39

> 'Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
> Quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis
> Vagina tectus.'

For the sentiment cp. Fam. 12. 4, 1 'Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset.'

l. 10. **Hoc consilium.** Plutarch, (Ant. 13) tells us that the proposal to kill Caesar was made by Trebonius to Antony on the occasion of Caesar's return from Spain after defeating Cn. and Sext. Pompeius 45 B.C.: and that Antony, though not accepting the proposal, did not inform Caesar of its being made.

l. 12. **Tum . . . sevocari.** Cp. Plut. Brut. 17 *Τρεβώνιος περὶ τὰς θύρας Ἀντώνιον ἐπισπασάμενος καὶ προσομιλῶν ἔξω κατέσχε*: and Phil. 13. 10, 23.

l. 14. **Non indicasti.** 'Non' is wanting in the Vatican MS., but seems necessary to the sense; though Faerni would explain it, 'I thank you for having at length shown your patriotism by wishing to kill the tyrant.' In this sense 'indicasti' would be most unusual.

l. 16. **Cui bono fuerit?** 'who has profited by the deed?' This saying of L. Cassius, the proposer of the second 'Lex Tabellaria' in 137 B.C., is quoted also pro Mil. 12, 32; and pro S. Rosc. Amer. 30, 84. Cicero argues that Antony had derived more advantage than any one else from Caesar's death, since it removed the sole barrier between himself and absolute power. The following words, 'omnibus bono, tibi tamen praecipue,' are conclusive against the common mistranslation of the phrase, 'what was the good of it,' as though 'cui' 'bono' agreed with one another.

l. 17. **Ne haereas,** 'I fear lest you may find it embarrassing.'

Illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem. The occasion referred to is probably the 17th of March, when Antony made his conciliatory speech in the temple of Tellus.

l. 20. **Ad aedem Opis.** See on 1. 7, 17; and cp. c. 37, 93; 5. 4, 11.

Per easdem tabulas. Entries in the note-books (commentarii) of Caesar: more openly denounced as 'falsae perscriptiones' in 5. 4, 11.

l. 21. **Ad quem, &c.** See Introduction to the first oration.

l. 23. **Commentariorum.** See on 1. 1, 2.

l. 25. **Nundinae.** From meaning the day on which markets were held, 'nundinae' came to mean the place of meeting for traffic; cp. de Leg. Agr. 2. 33, 89 'Illi Capuam receptaculum aratorum, nundinas rusticorum . . esse voluerunt;' and hence the traffic itself, as here, and 5. 4, 11

'Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius rei publicae nundinae.' So 'nundinabantur,' 3. 4, 10.

l. 26. **Nescio quid.** For the accusative see on c. 9, 21.

c. **15.** *To pass to lighter accusations.—And first, Cicero's conduct in the last campaign with Pompey. 'He was too sad,' says Antony. Not too sad, surely, considering the perils of the state, and the critical position of so many noble men. 'He alienated Pompey by his levity.' Experience did not bear this out, nor his unbroken friendship with Pompey, nor the testimony borne by Pompey to his merits during his final flight. This was the stronger proof of friendship, since Cicero had been throughout opposed to Pompey's policy, having always advocated peace as the object to be first sought after, even at some sacrifice of dignity.*

P. 37. l. 1. **Castra mihi Pompei.** This was Pompey's last campaign in Epirus, where Cicero joined him in the summer of 49 B.C.

l. 4. **Tot duces.** Notably Pompey himself, his father-in-law Q. Metellus Scipio, who fell in Africa shortly after the battle of Thapsus, in 46 B.C., and his son Cn. Pompeius, slain in Spain in 45 B.C. The armies referred to are probably those defeated under their respective commands at Pharsalus, Thapsus, and Munda.

l. 16. **Mihi enim omnis pax.** Cp. 7. 3, 7 'Ego ille, qui semper pacis auctor fui, cuique pax praesertim civilis, quamquam omnibus bonis, tamen in primis fuit optabilis.'

l. 18. **Quae sententia si valuisset,** i. e. if Caesar's terms had been accepted. These were that Pompey, dismissing his army and his garrisons, should go to Spain, whilst Caesar himself should resign the two provinces of Gaul to their respective praetors, L. Domitius and Considius Nonianus, and come to Rome to stand in person for the consulship. See Fam. 16. 12, 3.

l. 21. **At vero,** &c. This charge of Antony is confirmed by Macrobius (Sat. 2. 3, 8), who tells us that Cicero was so free in the indulgence of his sarcastic humour, as to irritate Pompey, so that at last he exclaimed 'Cupio ad hostes Cicero transeat, ut nos timeat.'

l. 24. **Quod quidem erat magnum,** 'and this, it must be confessed, was no slight proof of mutual goodwill.' Cicero wished to secure peace by accepting Caesar's conditions, Pompey to hold out for more honourable terms.

l. 29. **Quid sequeretur,** 'as each had a definite object in view.'

l. 31. **Paphum.** His companions in flight were M. Favonius, the two Lentuli, and the king Deiotarus (Plut. Pomp. 77: Cic. de Div. 2. 37, 79).

l. 33. **Me vidisse plus,** 'that I had had the keener foresight.'

P. 38. l. 2. **Sector** is the term applied to one who bought the goods

of a proscribed person when they were put up to auction. Partly from the forced nature of the sale, partly because the property was taken with all its liabilities, known and unknown, and partly too from the odium attaching to the purchase, such property seldom realized its full value. In the present case Cicero tells us, c. 26, 44, that Antony was the only bidder. The word is probably derived from 'seco,' the property being bought in bulk, and afterwards 'cut up' into lots for purposes of resale. Cp. pro S. Rosc. Amer. 29, 80 'Nescimus per ista tempora eosdem fere sectores fuisse collorum et bonorum.' Others, with less likelihood, derive the word from 'sequor.'

l. 5. **Erant quidem.** The unusual position of 'quidem,' attached to the verb instead of the pronoun, is owing to the fact that the opposition lies, not between two attributes of the camp, but between the expected and actual consequences of its anxiety. 'It is true the camp was full of care (and might therefore have been expected to be gloomy), but men, so long as they are men, relax at times even amid the greatest perplexities.'

Plena curae. Very different is the account given of that camp by Caesar, B.C. 3. 91, 1 'In castris Pompei videre licuit trichilas structas, magnum argenti pondus expositum, multa praeterea quae nimiam luxuriam et victoriae fiduciam designarent, ut facile aestimari posset, nihil eos de eventu eius diei timuisse, qui non necessarias conquirerent voluptates.'

c. 16. *The last named accusations contradicted one another. The next was simply false, that no one ever had left legacies to Cicero. It was true indeed that of the twenty million sesterces he had so received, none had ever come to him except from men he knew, whereas Antony was fortunate enough to find himself the heir of perfect strangers.*

l. 10. **Negasti**: as a proof of his unpopularity. It was a mark of disrespect if a man was passed over in a friend's will. Among the legacies which Cicero had received, we hear of one from Cyrus the architect, pro Mil. 18, 48, and one of ten million sesterces from Diodotus the Stoic, Att. 2. 20, 6.

l. 13. **Ducentiens**, &c., 'centena millia,' twenty million sesterces, nearly 180,000*l.* of our money.

Acceptum rettuli, 'I entered to the credit of inheritances;' see on c. 6, 12.

l. 17. **L. Rubrius** of Casinum is not known from any other source.

Fecit heredem. Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 165, thinks that these words should be expunged, as being redundant, and weakening the sentence by transferring its emphasis from the antithetical words 'te is' to the end.

He is followed by Baiter and Kayser, but Halm maintains the words on the authority of all the MSS.

l. 18. **Albus aterne fuerit**, 'the very colour of whose complexion you do not know.' Cp. Catull. 93

> 'Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere,
> Nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.'

The MSS. vary between 'fuerit' and 'fueris,' 'ignoras' and 'ignorans,' whence Orelli reads 'fueris ignorans, fratris filium praeteriit,' 'when, without even knowing the colour of your hair, he passed over his nephew in your favour.'

l. 19. **Q. Fufii**, sc. 'filium.' So Halm, following the Vatican MS. He says, 'nominat Cicero duos filios, alterum fratris L. Rubrii, alterum amicissimi eius Q. Fufii, quos ambos ab eo, ut Antonio gratificaretur, praeteritos esse conqueritur.' Another reading is 'ne nomen quidem perscripsit,' making Fufius himself the disappointed heir. Faerni, with the same object, suggested, 'meminit.' Heusinger wished to expunge the doubtful words, making Q. Fufius to be the brother of L. Rubrius.

l. 22. **Salutaverat**, 'had never visited.' Cp. Att. 13. 9, 1 'Venit paullo post Curtius, salutandi causa, sed mansit invitatus.'

l. 25. **Igitur**, 'this then was the reason, merely because you knew about his property.'

Faciebat, 'he *was willing*, as you say, to leave his property to you.'

In multas pecunias invasit: cp. pro S. Rosc. Amer. 2, 6 'Quoniam in alienam pecuniam tam plenam atque praeclaram nullo iure invaserit.' 'Multae pecuniae' are 'many sums of money:' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 73, 171 'Ut praetor pecunias (the several sums of money) quas civitatibus distribuere debeat, eas omnes avertat atque auferat.'

l. 29. **Non adisses**, 'had not entered on the estate of your father.' 'Hereditatem adire' or 'cernere' was the technical term for taking possession of a property bequeathed to one. 'Heredes necessarii' (slaves and unemancipated children), were bound to accept a bequest, unless the praetor exempted them on the ground of its being encumbered. Hence it is doubtful whether Cicero means here that Antony was disinherited, or that he found the estate so burdened with debt, that he was allowed to relinquish it, and give it up for sale to pay the debts. The latter is rendered more probable by c. 18, 44; and Sallust, Fragm. 3. 65, says that M. Antonius, the father, was 'perdundae pecuniae genitus.'

c. 17. *In concluding the refutation of the charges brought against him, Cicero takes occasion to point out the failure of Antony's attempts at*

learning rhetoric; and rebukes his criminal folly in giving his unsuccessful tutor such extravagant remuneration from the public lands.

l. 30. **In aliena villa.** In Scipio's villa at Tibur: cp. 5. 7, 19.

P. 39. l. 1. **Rhetorem.** Sex. Clodius, of Sicily (not to be confounded with Sex. Clodius, the tool of P. Clodius, see on 1. 1, 3), was noted for his wit, which is acknowledged by Cicero himself, Att. 4. 15, 2 'Vereor ne lepore te suo detineat diutius rhetor Clodius.' He mentions him again in contemptuous terms, 3. 9, 22.

l. 2. **Omnino,** 'under any circumstances.'

l. 3. **Dicta,** 'sharp sayings,' 'dicteria,' like the French '*mots*.' Cp. de Orat. 2. 54, 222 'Haec scilicet bona dicta, quae salsa sint; nam ea dicta appellantur proprio iam nomine.' Hence the use of the cognate accusative, usually only found with the addition of an adjective or pronoun,' 'dicta' containing in itself the requisite additional idea. See Madv. § 224. Obs. 4.

l. 4. **Avum,** the famous orator, M. Antonius. For his cautious, deliberate style of speaking, 'sensim,' cp. de Orat. 3. 9, 32 'Videtisne, genus hoc quod sit Antonii? forte, vehemens, commotum in agendo, *praemunitum et ex omni parte causae saeptum*, acre, acutum, enucleatum, *in una quaque re commorans*,' &c.

l. 5. **Aliena,** 'all that can do it injury.'

l. 7. **Iugerum,** as 'nummum,' 'amphorum,' 'medimnum,' and other genitives in common use as measures. See on 5. 3, 8.

Campi Leontini: cp. c. 39, 101. The state domains of Leontini were almost entirely in the hands of foreign possessors, either Roman citizens, or natives of other states in Sicily: see Verr. Act. 2. 2. 46, 109 'In agro Leontino praeter unam Mnasistrati familiam glebam Leontinorum possidet nemo.'

l. 8. **Immunia.** Under ordinary circumstances land thus held would have paid one tenth of the produce, 'decumae,' to the state. Clodius held his rent free, so that the Roman people was doubly defrauded, first, in not being able to assign its land to a more worthy occupant, and secondly, in losing its rent. Hence **Pop. Rom. tanta mercede.**

l. 9. **Nihil sapere.** See on c. 3, 8.

l. 10. **Alio loco.** See c. 39, 101.

l. 13. **De ipso emendatore et correctore,** 'our would-be schoolmaster and reformer.' So Pliny Pan. 6 'Corrector emendatorque disciplinae castrorum.'

c. 18. *Turning to review the life of Antony, Cicero exposes the extravagance, impudence, and profligacy of his boyhood, whereby he brought disgrace, not only on himself, but on C. Curio, his nobler though misguided partner in debauchery.*

l. 19. **Praetextatum**, 'while still a boy,' 'before changing the dress of boyhood for that of manhood.' Cp. Livy 22. 57 'Delectu edicto, iuniores ab annis septemdecim, et quosdam praetextatos scribunt.'

Decoxisse, 'were a bankrupt,' a meaning gained from the sense of 'boiling down to nothing.' Cp. Pliny N. H. 33. 10, 47 'Qui primus acceperit cognomen divitis, decoxisse creditoribus suis.' Antony's apology renders it probable that this bankruptcy was caused by the worthlessness of his father's estate, see on c. 16, 41.

l. 20. **Concedo**. Your very dutiful apology is valid, as excusing your poverty, but it does not justify your breaking the law, which takes cognizance only of a man's position, not of the causes of it.

l. 22. **Lege Roscia**, the law of L. Roscius Otho, 67 B.C., assigning the fourteen rows of seats immediately behind the orchestra to the equites. Cp. Hor. Epod. 4, 15

'Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques
Othone contempto sedet.'

l. 24. **Togam**. Some MSS. 'stolam,' but this loses the whole point of Cicero's sarcasm, the 'stola' being the dress of Roman matrons, to which he says that Antony had no right until his *marriage* with Curio. Cp. c. 20, 50 'Ut *viri* tui similis esses.' The 'toga' was worn by courtezans and freed-women. Cp. Hor. S. 1. 2, 62 'Quid inter-est in matrona, ancilla peccesve togata;' and Ovid Ep. ex Pont. 3. 3, 51.

'Scripsimus haec illis, quarum nec vitta pudicos
Contingit crines, nec stola longa pedes.'

l. 30. **Domu**. Some MSS. have 'domo,' but 'domu' is the reading of the Vatican MS., and also of the best MS. of Verr. Act. 2. 5. 49, 128 'Domu sua tota expilata.' The form is also found in the Praenestine Kalendar (Orelli, Inscript. Lat. 2. p. 388), 'IN DOMV IMP. CAESARIS,' and it is quoted by Garatonius as a reading in Pliny Epp. 10. 76.

l. 32. **Cogente mercede**. Abrami notices the climax, 'nox socia est, hortatur libido, merces cogit.'

Per tegulas. Cp. Ter. Eun. 3. 5, 40

'Deum sese in pretium convertisse, atque in alienas tegulas
Venisse clanculum per impluvium, fucum factum mulieri;'

where 'impluvium' is used for the aperture in the roof, usually 'compluvium.'

P. 40. l. 3. Orabat, &c. The younger Curio had become security for Antony to the amount of six millions of sesterces (53,125*l.*) which he was called upon to pay, and thus obliged to ask his father for them, and so he begs Cicero to stand between him and his father's anger.

If we follow the reading, 'te contra,' found in some MSS., the subject of 'peteret' will be 'pater,' the father demanding repayment from Antony of the sum which his son had lost on his account.

l. 5. **Intercedere**, 'to become security.' Cp. Att. 6. 1, 5 'Quasi calcar admovet, intercessisse se pro iis magnam pecuniam.' Cicero's friendship for the elder Curio showed itself by continued interest in the son, in spite of his profligacy and extravagance, as we find in the letters to him, Fam. 2. 1–7. He may also have hoped to turn to use his great powers of oratory, which, however, Caesar attached to his side by paying all his debts, 50 B.C.

l. 9. **Redimeret**, &c., 'employ his fortune to ransom so promising a youth from slavery to Antony.'

l. 13. **Quos videmus**; as though he were delivering the speech in the presence of Antony's body-guard of mercenaries. See on c. 8, 19.

c. 19. *His entry into public life was as the friend and tool of Clodius. Next he was found, under the respectable patronage of Gabinius, travelling to all corners of the world, to find himself on his return to Italy the only citizen without a home.*

l. 16. **Eo liberior**, 'you can allow yourself more licence of speech, because you know how my tongue is tied in answering you.'

l. 24. **Incidamus**, 'let us cut short the middle of the story.' Cp. Livy 32. 37 'Longiorem exorsis orationem, brevis interrogatio sermonem incidit.' For 'opinor' some MSS. have 'oportet.'

l. 27. **Incendiorum fax**, perhaps metaphorically 'the firebrand that set alight the fire of all the treason which Clodius committed,' cp. de Dom. 5, 13 'Ne in hanc tantam materiem seditionis ista funesta fax adhaeresceret:' though Cicero often charges P. Clodius and his satellites with actual incendiarism, cp. ib. 24, 62; pro Cael. 32, 78. Clodius was tribune in 58 B.C.

l. 28. **Quiddam**. What this was we have no means of knowing, but from his afterwards marrying Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, Manutius supposes that a reference is made to an intrigue with her.

l. 29. **Iter Alexandream**. See on c. 30, 76. The journey was made in 56 B.C., when Antony combined with A. Gabinius to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes on his throne, in opposition to a decree of the senate, and an oracle of the Sibyl, which forbade that he should be restored 'cum multitudine' (ad Q. Frat. 2. 2, 3).

l. 31. **Quicum**. See Madv., § 86. Obs. 2. Cicero was especially bitter against Gabinius, as being the author of his exile.

l. 32. **In ultimam Galliam**, to join Caesar, who had just then returned from Britain.

l. 33. **Quae autem domus?** The later copyist in the Vatican MS.

and some other MSS. insert 'erat,' but the omission of the verb is common in short exclamatory questions. cp. c. 17, 43 'Num etiam hoc ex Caesaris commentariis?' c. 29, 74 'Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?'

P. 41. l. 1. **Nec erat usquam tua.** The time had not come for Antony to acquire a house, since that was only to be done through the aid of confiscations.

l. 3. **Sisaponem.** Probably the true explanation of this comparison is that the cinnabar mines at Sisapo, in Hispania Baetica, were worked by a joint stock company, so that no one of the partners could say individually that they belonged to him. Abrami himself thinks that as the fumes of cinnabar were unwholesome, so the villa of Antony was exposed 'ad ventum horribilem et pestilentem,' viz. the exactions of his creditors. Cp. Catullus 26, 5.

c. 20. *As candidate for the quaestorship, Antony sought, and readily obtained, the countenance and aid of Cicero; in gratitude for which, as he alleged, he tried to take the life of Clodius. So soon as he obtained the quaestorship, he hurried to the camp of Caesar, as the best resort for ruined profligates.*

l. 4. **Venis.** So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'venisse Gallia.' Other MSS. have 'venisti Galliam,' whence the common reading 'venisti e Gallia.' Antony was elected quaestor for the year 52 B.C.

l. 5. **Ad parentem tuum.** So the Vatican and other MSS., but as his father and his stepfather, P. Lentulus, both were dead, his only parent was Julia. Charisius, indeed (1. 76), quotes instances of 'parens' in the masculine being used for 'mother,' but in the only one which we can verify (Virg. Aen. 3, 341) against the authority of all existing MSS. The others are a fragment of Pacuvius, 'Te, sol, invoco, ut mihi potestatem duis Inquirendi mei parentis:' and of an epistle of Gracchus, 'tuus parens sum,' h. e. 'mater.' Still as 'ad parentem' here is merely equivalent to 'to your home,' as we might say 'to your father's house,' the masculine gender is perhaps defensible. An obvious emendation is 'tuam,' suggested by Buchanan.

l. 6. **Ut mihi satis fieri,** &c., 'that I would accept your overtures of reconciliation;' the main ground of offence being probably the friendship of Antony with P. Clodius.

l. 8. **Observatus,** 'countenanced.' Cp. pro Mur. 34, 70 'A quibus (senatoribus et equitibus) si domus nostra celebratur, si interdum ad forum deducimur, si uno basilicae spatio honestamur, diligenter observari videmur et coli.'

l. 10. **Es conatus.** See on c. 9, 21.

l. 15. **Quamquam,** &c. The train of thought seems to be 'I did no

encourage you, because I saw your want of perseverance. And yet, under any circumstances, even if you were to persevere, I thought it better that you should have the whole credit of the matter.'

l. 18. **Sine sorte.** Cp. Att. 6. 6, 4 'Pompeius, eo robore vir, iis radicibus, Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium.' The regular mode of apportioning the several quaestorships was by lot, though sometimes the senate gave a general some particular quaestor by decree, as C. Laelius to P. Scipio, 202 B.C. (Livy 30. 33); and sometimes, as this passage seems to show, the people passed a special law for the purpose; similar to those by which they assigned extraordinary provinces to proconsuls.

l. 20. **Perfugium.** See below, c. 32, 78; Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. 8. 14, 3 'Video ad Caesarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant, accessuros.'

l. 22. **Explere.** Halm marks here a lacuna, which is variously supplied, 'haurire,' 'devorare,' 'ingerere,' 'corripere.' The sense may be, however, 'if we may apply the word "explere" to that which you immediately intend disgorging.'

l. 23. **Viri tui, Curio.** See on c. 18, 44.

cc. 21, 22. *In his tribuneship, he persisted in thwarting by his veto the counsels of the senate for the common weal, till they were obliged, in self-defence, to stop his interference by declaring him a public enemy. Again he fled to C. Caesar, and gave him the excuse he sought for the invasion of his country, in the allegation that the tribunes' privileges had been violated. Thus Antony was the immediate cause of all the evils of the civil war, and of the loss, by death or banishment, of so many noble citizens; the final issue being loss of liberty to the senate and the state.*

l. 26. **Decus.** This reading is due to Madvig, who shows (Opusc. 1. p. 166; 2. p. 322) not only that 'in' must have the same meaning with both accusatives, so that here 'in dedecus' could only mean 'to the detriment of his dishonour,' which is absurd, but also that such an expression as 'in dedecus,' 'to his dishonour,' 'so as to bring dishonour on himself,' is never used by any prose writer till after the Augustan period, though it occurs in poetry, as Hor. Epod. 17, 63

> 'Ingrata misero vita ducenda est, in hoc,
> Novis ut usque suppetas doloribus:'

and in later prose, especially in the time of Seneca. The mistake would easily arise from doubling the syllable.

l. 29. **L. Lentulo, C. Marcello,** in 49 B.C., the year of Antony's tribuneship, and of the commencement of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

l. 32. **Si sana mente esset**, 'had he been willing,' that is, 'to show himself a loyal citizen.' See c. 35, 88 note. The senate passed a decree on the 1st of January, that Caesar should disband his army, or be held a public enemy. Antony and his colleague, Q. Cassius Longinus, interposed their vetos, which the senate disregarded, declaring that in doing so the tribunes violated the interests of the state. Finding themselves expelled from the senate on the 6th of January, and feeling that the absolute power given to the Consuls was aimed especially against them, they fled from Rome and joined Caesar at Ravenna. (Caes. B. C. 1. 5, 4: Liv. Epit. lib. 109.)

l. 33. **Emancipatum**, 'transferred from his own authority to that of Caesar,' his own loss of power being the idea more prominently brought forward. So de Fin. 1. 7, 24 'Filium in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat;' but Cat. Mai. 11, 38 'Senectus honesta est, . . si nemini mancipata est,' stress being laid on the slavery which is the result.

P. 42. l. 1. **Cervices**. It is noticeable that Cicero nowhere uses the word 'cervix' in the singular.

l. 4. **In hostem togatum**, so as to give the Consuls power of life and death within the city walls.

l. 6. **Conservator**. See on c. 1, 2.

l. 10. **Sempiternum**. See Virg. Aen. 1. 278

> 'Hic ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> Imperium sine fine dedi.'

Hence Tibullus, 'Aeternae urbis moenia,' 2. 5, 23.

l. 11. **Unus adolescens**. Cicero conveniently ignores the co-operation of Q. Cassius, and exaggerates the youth of Antony, who, being now 34, could no longer be reckoned among 'adolescentes.' See on c. 44, 113.

l. 13. **Neque tu tecum**, &c., 'nor would you allow the opening of any negotiations with yourself about upholding the authority of the senate, though all that was sought was that you should consent not utterly to destroy the state:' **ne velles**, 'that you would not exert your sovereign will and pleasure.'

l. 17. **Agendo**, 'by its attempted negotiations,' rather than 'by the severity of its measures.'

l. 18. **Addicta**, 'given over to the highest bidder:' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 63, 148 'Si doceo aliquanto pluris potuisse vendere neque iis voluisse te addicere, qui contra Apronium licerentur.'

19. **Vulnus**, viz. the decree, 'dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique consulares sunt ad urbem (these being "reliqua imperia"), ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat' Caes. B. C. 1. 5, 3; cp. Fam. 16. 11, 3. This power, Cicero says, had never before been

given to the Consuls without proving fatal to those against whom it was directed.

l. 24. **Causam.** Caesar himself alleges this object amongst others that induced him to take up arms against the state ('ut tribunos plebis, ea re ex civitate expulsos, in suam dignitatem restitueret' B. C. 1. 32, 5), and it was no doubt useful to him as a popular cry, especially as the senate seem to have been technically in the wrong: but his counsels were based on deeper views than this, and as Plutarch says, Ant. 6 *ταῦτα πάλαι δεομένῳ προφάσεως σχῆμα καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ πολέμου παρέσχεν.*

l. 27. **Ius tribunicium sublatum,** not only by ignoring their veto, but by threatening the sanctity of their persons. Cp. Livy 2. 33; Dionys. 7. 17.

Circumscriptus, 'hampered in the exercise of his power.' Cp. 13. 9, 19 'Parata de circumscribendo adolescente sententia consularis;' and pro Mil. 33, 88 'Senatus, credo, praetorem eum circumscripsisset,' 'would have fenced in Clodius, so that he should not exceed his powers.'

l. 31. **Persona tua.** So the Vatican MS. Cp. 3. 8, 19 'cum eo (sc. interitu tuo) salus. . . consisteret.' Vulg. 'in persona.'

l. 32. **O miserum te.** See c. 7, 16.

P. 43. l. 3. **Pompeium, quod lumen fuit.** This attraction of the relative into the gender of the predicate is found when, the antecedent being already sufficiently defined, stress is to be laid on the attribute contained in the relative clause. Cp. 5. 14, 38 'Pompeio patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, exstincto.' When the relative clause contains the only data for identifying the antecedent, the relative pronoun must follow the ordinary rules. See Madv. § 316.

l. 4. **Omnes consulares.** As it was notorious that several men of consular rank (among whom were P. Servilius Isauricus, L. Volcatius, and Serv. Sulpicius Rufus, the last-named actively espousing Caesar's side), remained in Rome, Cicero invents for all of them the plea of ill health.

l. 5. **Exsequi,** &c., 'to accomplish that disastrous flight.' The leaders of Pompey's party retired with him in the first instance to Capua, whence he fled to Brundisium at the end of February, in preparation for leaving Italy for his last campaign.

l. 9. **Semen.** Abrami compares Dem. Cor. p. 280, 28 *ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος*; and in Tim. p. 748, 13 *οὐδὲ σπέρμα δεῖ καταβάλλειν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοιούτων πραγμάτων, οὐδ' εἰ μήπως ἂν ἐκφύοι.*

l. 10. **Tres exercitus.** See c. 6, 12 note.

l. 15. **Accepta referemus.** See c. 16, 40.

l. 17. **Principii.** So Halm, following Garatonius, from the Vatican

reading 'principiis,' where the 's' is probably due to the initial of the following 'similis.' Vulg. 'principio.'

l. 18. **Quae senatus, &c.,** 'which the senate had rendered impossible without the ruin of the constitution.'

l. 19. **Scelus in scelere.** It was an offence against the state to annul its sentences; but if he were doing that, natural affection demanded the recall from exile of his uncle, C. Antonius.

cc. 23–25. *His power he abused in every way. First, by restoring to their civil rights convicted persons, in behalf of whom no single plea could decently be urged. Secondly, in not extending this clemency to his uncle. Thirdly, by his progress through the borough towns in the company of an actress, and attended by a troop of profligates, amid luxury most unsuited to a tribune. Fourthly, by his cruelty and avarice in war, in which the only merit he could urge was his single act of moderation in not killing Cicero; and this was only out of deference to the unanimous opinion of his soldiers, who were scandalized by the open profligacy of his conduct.*

His next appointment, to be Caesar's master of the horse, was gained by jobbery, and led to further jobbery, combined with rapine and excess of every kind.

Restituebat in this chapter seems to mean generally 'he restored to their former privileges' (cp. below, 'restituit in integrum'), since Denticula was evidently not in exile. Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 2. 26, § 3 'Alia iudicia restituta sunt.'

l. 22. **De alea condemnatum.** Cp. Hor. Od. 3. 24, 58 'Seu malis vetita legibus alea.'

l. 23. **Quasi vero, &c.,** 'as though to keep up some show of respectability in his company, but really to escape the payment of his gambling debts;' 'sed' marking the transition from the false plea to the real object which Antony had in view.

l. 24. **Beneficio legis,** by the gratitude he earned from Denticula, for carrying through the law which restored him to his civic rights.

l. 26. **Absentem credo.** Here follow the usual pleas on which reversal of a sentence might be urged, or even (as in the last case) the compassion of the senate excited. One of these, he says, Antony might have pressed in favour of his uncle; Denticula could claim the benefit of none. Additional point is given to the comparison by the fact that Cicero himself defended C. Antonius.

l. 31. **Condemnatum esse.** In such a general confusion of the constitution, respect for the mere decision of a court of law would naturally go for nothing.

l. 32. **Qui non dubitaret, &c.,** 'who would not hesitate to play dice

in the very forum itself;' this being the height of profanity in a Roman's eyes; cp. Off. 3. 24, 93, where Cicero propounds the case of a man who had accepted an inheritance under promise of dancing in the forum, and decides that he ought to violate his promise rather than do so, unless the money gained were to be applied to some great necessity of the state.

P. 44. l. 2. **Studium suum,** 'his own predilection for play.'

l. 4. **Italiam.** Caesar left Lepidus in charge of Rome, and Antony of Italy. Plut. Ant. 6.

l. 8. **Qui non fui.** See on c. 15, 37.

l. 11. **Vehebatur in essedo.** Abrami calls attention to the force of every single word in this charge. He, *a tribune of the commons*, bound to avoid aristocratic pomp, and to make himself accessible to all, *drove*, like a woman, in a *barbarian* carriage, *preceded by lictors*, to which a tribune had no right, *and these adorned with laurel wreaths*, in token of victory over Pompey and the Consuls. Among these was carried Cytheris, a *mimic actress*, a courtezan among the insignia of magistracy, without even the decency of a curtained litter.

l. 12. **Essedo.** This was a Celtic two-wheeled chariot, found apparently both in Britain and in Gaul. Cp. Fam. 7. 6, 2 'Tu, qui ceteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ab essedariis decipiaris caveto;' and Virg. G. 3. 204 'Belgica vel molli melius feret esseda collo.' Caesar describes them as used in war, B. G. 4. 33. It seems to have become a fashionable carriage in Rome; see Professor Conington on Virg. l. c.

Tribunus plebi. See on 5. 3, 7.

l. 13. **Mima.** Cp. Juv. 8. 198

> 'Res haud mira tamen, citharoedo principe, mimus
> Nobilis.'

Cicero complained at the time of the disgraceful nature of the proceeding, Att. 7. 10, 5 'Hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxórem:' cp. ib. 16, 5.

l. 15. **Volumniam.** See on c. 8, 20.

l. 16. **Reda.** This was also a Gaulish chariot, but on four wheels: see Quint. 1. 5, 57 'Plurima Gallica (verba) valuerunt, ut *reda* ac *petorritum*.'

Comites is in apposition to the general idea of 'reda cum lenonibus,' 'the coach-load of panders.' Another reading, supported however only by one late MS., is 'leonibus,' in defence of which Pliny's story (N. H. 8. 16, 21; cp. Att. 10. 13, 1) of Antony driving a yoke of lions in a chariot is urged. But besides that this event was after Pharsalus, and that the lions were yoked to his own chariot, not to that of his attendants, the anomaly of the expression 'reda cum leonibus' for 'reda leonibus

iuncta' would be sufficient to decide the question in favour of the reading of the MSS.

l. 17. **Mater.** Julia, daughter of L. Iulius Caesar, who was Consul in the social war, 90 B.C.

l. 19. **Municipia,** &c. See on 3. 5, 13.

l. 22. **Lubrica,** 'hazardous,' on account of the offence which would be given to the veterans.

l. 24. **Quoniam veteranis,** &c. Two reasons are assigned by Cicero for his silence, of which the latter, though in strictness of grammar it should merely re-assert the former, is really quite distinct from it: 'Since we wish to maintain the interests of the veterans,' 'that you may not bring me into disfavour with them.'

l. 25. **Dissimilis.** Besides the superior and more responsible position of Antony, the soldiers were in the first instance bound to Caesar by their military oath.

l. 28. **E Thessalia.** After the battle of Pharsalus, August, 48 B.C., Cicero came to Brundisium in November, and remained there till September in the following year.

l. 29. **Non occidisti.** See on c. 3, 5 and 6.

l. 33. **Meminissent.** See on c. 4, 7.

P. 45. l. 2. **Licuitne,** &c., 'did not your abuse prevent me from continuing to show that I recognized your kindness, especially as, all the time that you were abusing me, you saw that such would be my answer?' **Praesertim cum** gives an additional reason for what is really, though not grammatically, the leading notion in this sentence, viz. the effect of Antony's wanton abuse of him. Cp. 8. 2, 5 'C. quidem Caesar non exspectavit vestra decreta, praesertim cum illud esset aetatis:' where the train of thought is, 'Octavius might have been expected to wait for your decrees, especially considering his age, but he acted on his own responsibility.'

l. 7. **Municipiorum,** 'if you felt no shame in the presence of the borough towns,' i. e. at bringing on them such a disgrace: anything or any person that causes a man to feel shame, whether on the one hand his own evil deeds, or on the other, a respectable witness whose presence should have deterred him from committing them, being expressed in the genitive after pudere. Cp. 12. 3, 8 'Pudet huius legionis, pudet quartae;' Ter. Hec. 5. 2, 27 'Pudet Philumenae,' 'I am ashamed of seeing Philumena;' and Sall. Frag. 1. 51, 15 'Te neque hominum neque deorum pudet.'

l. 13. **Deductio,** 'quartering the soldiers on the towns for the winter:' 'deduco' being commonly employed for bringing soldiers into winter quarters: cp. Caes. B. G. 2. 35, 3 'Legionibus in hiberna deductis;' and Livy 26. 20; 43. 9. Abrami takes it of the allotment of lands to

the soldiers, which would drive the citizens from their homes; but it is not likely that any measures of this sort would be taken till Caesar had returned to Rome.

l. 14. **Caesare ignaro.** Yet Plutarch, Ant. 8, says that Caesar himself appointed him master of the horse, and sent him in that capacity to Rome.

l. 16. **Cum Hippia,** that as master of *the horse* (ἵππαρχος) he was entitled to live with *Hippias*, the mimic actor.

l. 17. **Vectigales,** according to Manutius (whom Forcellini follows), means simply 'earning profit for their master.' Hence he thinks the reference is to the horses that contended in the games, and that Antony allowed Sergius, the mimic actor, to contract for the supply of these, a privilege hitherto monopolized by senators, and in their case exercised with a view to popularity rather than to profit. Abrami thinks that 'equi vectigales' (like 'pecunia vectigalis' in Verr. Act. 2. 1. 35, 89) means horses supplied as tribute by conquered nations. He quotes Hdt. 3. 90 to show that the Cilicians paid a tribute of horses to Darius, and thinks that the Romans probably continued to receive their tribute in the ancient fashion. In that case the passage would mean that Antony gave Sergius the horses which belonged to the state.

l. 18. **Male tuetur,** 'has difficulty in retaining for his own.' It was Pompey's house (see on 1. 1, 1), and was now claimed by Sextus Pompeius, who had agreed to lay aside hostilities in Spain, on condition of receiving the property of his father.

M. Pupius Piso distinguished himself in the first civil war, on the side of Sulla, and was afterwards Consul, through the interest of Pompey, 61 B.C.

l. 20. **Datas . . ereptas,** 'which he gave to his adherents, or seized from their lawful owners.'

l. 22. **A. L. Rubrio,** &c. See on c. 16, 40.

l. 27. **Istis faucibus,** &c., all showing Antony's great powers of drinking, and therefore the enormity of his excess, when it produced such results.

l. 33. **In coetu,** &c. Garatonius quotes Quint. 8. 4, 8, commenting on this passage: 'Singula incrementum habent. Per se deforme, vel non "in coetu," vomere; "in coetu" vel non "populi;" "populi" etiam non "Romani;" vel, si nullum "negotium" ageret; vel si non "publicum;" vel si non "magister equitum."' Mr. Mayor remarks that this chapter is more often cited by Quintilian than any other in the speech.

cc. 26–28. *Caesar's ill-omened return to Rome led to the sale of his proscribed opponents' property. Antony alone had the heart and*

shamelessness to bid for that of Pompey; and entering on it with indecent haste, in a few days, with the aid of his abandoned followers, he had squandered all the treasures of that house, which no one else could look on without tears. He alone was utterly devoid of feeling, never disturbed by the contrast between the former pure and noble owner of the house, and its present tenant, whose most virtuous act was to divorce his mistress. And withal he was so proud of his notoriety, that even now he spoke of himself as being 'both Consul and Antonius,' lest men in respect for the Consul should forget the contempt appropriate to the debauchee.

P. 46. l. 5. **Alexandrea.** Caesar left Alexandrea in the latter end of March, and arrived in Rome in September, 47 B.C.

l. 6. **Hostis.** So the Vatican MS. Some others have 'infelix.'

l. 7. **Hasta posita.** The origin of setting up a spear as the sign of a public auction is probably to be found in the fact that the earliest auctions would be sales of spoil taken in war, and sold on the spot.

Pro aede Iovis Statoris. At the top of the Via Sacra, near the place where the arch of Titus now stands.

l. 9. **Haeret animo.** Madvig, Opusc. I. p. 145, would alter the order of the words, reading 'animo haeret,' to mark more clearly the dependence of 'animo' on 'haeret.'

l. 15. **Sectionis.** See on c. 15, 39.

Accedere is the special word for bidding at an auction. Cp. Livy 43. 16 'Edixerunt, ne quis eorum . . ad hastam suam accederet.'

l. 16. **Praesertim cum,** though formally dependent on 'inventus est nemo,' really refers to the leading idea in Cicero's mind; to the strangeness of the want of bidders, rather than to the actual fact of that want. See on c. 24, 60. It may be translated 'which was all the more remarkable as,' or 'even though,' or 'and that at a time when.'

l. 20. **Isto loco,** sc. as being 'nobilis.'

l. 21. **Exsecratum,** so Halm from the Vatican MS. Vulg. 'execrandum;' but see on c. 13, 32.

l. 26. **Se subito ingurgitasset,** 'had all at once begun to wallow in;' cp. in Pis. 18, 42 'Numquam te in tot flagitia ingurgitasses.'

l. 27. **Persona de mimo,** 'like the man in the farce.'

l. 28. **Male,** &c., 'ill-gotten gain never thrives.' The quotation is from Naevius.

l. 31. **Numerus,** 'a vast *stock* of wine,' so 'frumenti' Verr. Act. 2. 2. 72, 176.

Optimi argenti, 'of beautifully-wrought plate.' Madvig (§ 466 b) says that the words are placed in such unusual order 'to give a prominence to both adjectives, and at the same time to bring "argenti," which forms an antithesis with other words, to the last place.'

l. 33. **Non illa quidem**, &c., 'not enough to stamp the man as luxurious, but sufficiently betokening affluence.'

P. 47. l. 3. **Animal unum fuit**, 'was but a single creature.' So Virgil personifies Charybdis, Aen. 3. 420 'Laevum implacata Charybdis Obsidet.'

Me dius fidius is taken by some to be the same oath as 'Mehercle,' being equivalent to 'Me Dius (Iovis) filius,' d and l being interchanged as in 'lingua,' 'dingua,' 'lacrima,' *δάκρυ*, and many other words. The more probable derivation is from 'fides,' 'Dius Fidius' corresponding to Ζεὺς πίστιος. The 'me' is merely a demonstrative inseparable particle, like 'e' in 'ecastor.'

l. 5. **Nihil erat clausum**, &c., 'so careless was he, that he neither locked, nor sealed, nor put his name on anything;' or 'scriptum' may be (as Halm takes it) 'he made no list of anything.'

l. 6. **Apothecae**, 'whole stores of wine.' 'Apothecae' differ from 'cellae vinariae,' being the magazine where the main stock of wine was stowed away, as opposed to the place where the supply for daily use was kept. The latter was in the inmost part of the house, for coolness (not necessarily underground, see Pliny, N. H. 14. 21, 27), whereas the 'apotheca' was in the upper part, where it could be mellowed by the smoke. See Colum. 1. 6, 20; and cp. Hor. Od. 3. 21, 7

> 'Descende, Corvino iubente
> Promere languidiora vina;'

of a jar of special wine that was to be produced in honour of his guest.

l. 11. **Servorum in cellis**, 'in the garrets of the slaves.'

l. 15. **Devorare potuisset**, 'could have devoured, *supposing it had had them;*' the further condition causing the use of the subjunctive, instead of the more usual indicative. See Madv. § 348, Obs. 1.

Aedes et hortos, sc. 'devoravit.' 'Horti,' in the plural, means 'pleasure-grounds;' esp. 'a villa with its grounds.' Cp. c. 6, 15, and Off. 3. 14, 58 'Ad cenam hominem in hortos invitavit.'

l. 21. **Quamvis nihil sapias**, 'however void of sense you are,' cp. c. 17, 43; c. 4, 8.

l. 22. **In vestibulo**, 'in the courtyard,' an empty space before the door, not a part of the building, as appears from pro Caec. 12, 35 'Si te . . armati non modo limine tectoque aedium tuarum, sed primo aditu *vestibuloque* prohibuerint.' Cp. Plaut. Most. 3. 2, 133 'Viden' vestibulum ante aedes hoc, et ambulacrum cuius modi?'

Rostra, in all likelihood trophies of Pompey's victories over the pirates, 66 B.C. **Spolia** is probably a gloss. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'rostran spolia.' For the custom of decorating the entrance with such trophies, compare Virg. Aen. 7. 183

'Multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma,
Captivi pendent currus, curvaeque secures,
Et cristae capitum, et portarum ingentia claustra,
Spiculaque, clipeique, ereptaque rostra carinis.'

l. 26. **Mente consistere,** 'to be at ease in your mind.'

l. 27. **Violentus**; so Halm, from the Vatican and two other MSS. Al. 'vinolentus,' which has plausibility, both from the character of Antony, and the combinations 'vinolentum furorem,' Fam. 12. 25, 4; and 'furiosam vinolentiam,' c. 39, 101.

l. 28. **Species,** 'the phantom:' cp. Ov. M. 11. 677 'Voce sua, specieque viri turbata soporem Excutit.'

P. 48. l. 3. **Pro conclavibus.** Some MSS. have 'pro tricliniis,' but the Vatican reading, 'pro conclavibus popinae triclinis,' seems to show that the latter word is a gloss. 'Conclave' is any chamber 'quod clave claudi potest,' here 'a dining room.'

l. 4. **Illam suam.** Halm thinks that 'suam,' which is the reading of the Vatican MS., but supplied by a later hand, may be a corrupt substitution for 'mimam.' 'He has formally divorced his actress-wife,' 'alteram uxorem' as Cicero calls Cytheris, Att. 7. 10, 5. Restoration of the dowry (Plaut. Stich. 2.1, 50 'Uxorin' sit reddenda dos divortio;' cp. Trinum. 2. 1, 43

'Tuas res tibi habe,
Amor! mihi amicus
Ne fuas umquam;'

and Mart. 10. 41, 1

'Mense novo Iani veterem, Proculeia, maritum
Deseris, atque iubes res sibi habere suas'),

and expulsion from the house (Plaut. Mil. Gl. 4. 6, 62 'Quin tua causa exegit virum a se,') seem to have been regular parts of a divorce from a marriage by 'coemtio.' With respect to reclaiming the household keys, the symbol of domestic government, the only other evidence we have is a passage from the Epistles of S. Ambrose (6, 3), quoted by Abrami: 'Mulier offensa claveis remisit, domum revertit.' Cicero's application of these terms to Cytheris is of course mere sarcasm.

l. 8. **Hoc est dicere,** the only attributes connoted by the word 'Antonius' being those of shamelessness and depravity.

l. 12. **Avus.** M. Antonius, the orator, whose younger son C. Antonius Hybrida was Consul with Cicero, 63 B.C.

l. 13. **Nisi si,** 'unless it be the case that;' the excepted case being the hypothesis put forward in the whole clause. 'Nisi si' is most commonly thus used with indefinite pronouns and adverbs: cp. Livy 6.

26 'Hic plebis nostrae habitus fuit, eritque semper, nisi si quando a vobis, proque vobis, arma acceperimus.'

l. 14. **Earum partium propria**, 'passing over all that does not bear upon the policy whereby you harassed the state, I return to your own special work.'

c. 29. *After his cruelty in the civil war, he might have been expected to follow Caesar into Spain: but they had lately quarrelled, when Caesar, somewhat unreasonably, made his adherent pay for the property he had bought. This brought him into difficulties; he had little left to sell, and even what he had was claimed by those on whose inheritances he had seized. On this he tried to murder Caesar, just before his setting out for Spain.*

l. 18. **Defuisti.** The real reason why Antony did not join Caesar in the African campaign probably was the coolness which arose between them in consequence of Caesar requiring him to pay the money which he bid for Pompey's house: though below Cicero represents this as the result ('Itaque . . appellatus es'). For the charge of cowardice there is no foundation, and Cicero himself refutes it by recording that he fought in the post of honour in the front ranks ('antesignanus') at Pharsalus.

l. 20. **L. Domitium.** See on c. 11, 27.

l. 27. **Quo numero fuisti?** 'of what account were you?' So 3. 6, 16 'Bambalio, homo nullo numero.'

l. 28. **Quaestor**, see on c. 20, 50; **magister equitum**, on c. 25, 62; **belli princeps**, on c. 22, 55.

l. 30. **Filius.** We learn from Dion Cassius (44. 35) that Antony was placed among the heirs in remainder ('secundi heredes'), by the will of Caesar, but nowhere of anything like his adoption by the dictator.

Appellatus es, 'you were *summoned* for the money:' cp. de Leg. Agr. 2. 36, 100 'Nulli populo Romano pro me maiores mei spoponderunt, mihi creditum est: a me petere quod debeo, me ipsum appellare debetis.'

P. 49. l. 3. **Causam**; see on c. 22, 53.

Ego leges perniciosas rogavi. These words are wanting in the Vatican MS., but are found in the others, and are quoted by the grammarian Nonius (about A. D. 200). Their reference is very doubtful, as among Antony's actions we hear of no laws which he passed at this period, with the exception of that for the reversal of certain judicial sentences (see c. 23, 56). It shows Cicero's power of sarcasm that he makes Antony urge as services to Caesar exclusively the wrongs he did the state.

l. 8. **Ius postulabas**, 'your demands were only fair,' 'postulo,' according to Donatus, being strictly 'to demand what is one's right.' He says, on Ter. Andr. 2. 5, 11 'Petimus precario; poscimus imperiose; postulamus iure.' See on 1. 11, 27. The fairness of any claims, Cicero

declares, is the last thing to be taken into consideration; Caesar was the more powerful, and that decided the matter.

l. 9. **Excussis.** So the Vatican, and most other MSS. Two have 'exclusis,' which Madvig adopts (Opusc. 1. p. 207). The use, however, of 'excussis' ('having shaken himself free from your words') probably has reference to 'respondisti *plane ferociter*' above; and it is borne out by Tibullus, 2. 6, 12

> 'Magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi magna locuto
> Excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores.'

l. 10. **Tabula,** 'catalogue of the sale;' 'tabulae auctionariae,' Cat. 2. 8, 18; cp. pro Caec. 6, 16 'Adest ad tabulam, licetur Aebutius.'

l. 11. **Prolata est.** This is Madvig's interpretation (Opusc. l. c.) of the Vatican reading 'prolatas.' He urges the necessity of the verb being expressed in such a sentence, and is followed by Halm.

l. 13. **Partem Miseni.** See on c. 19, 48.

l. 14. **Adspectus,** though more commonly subjective, is elsewhere used objectively, of the appearance of the object gazed upon. Cp. Cat. 4. 6, 11 'Versatur mihi ante oculos adspectus Cethegi;' and de Nat. Deor. 2. 63, 158 'Pomorum iucundus adspectus.' 'Conspectus,' on the other hand, seems always to be subjective, of the act of looking. See Madvig on Cic. Fin. 5. 18, 48.

l. 16. **Sordidata mancipia,** 'a few slaves in mean apparel;' 'mancipia' being 'chattels,' 'quae iure mancipi possidentur,' and especially living chattels, or slaves.

l. 18. **Heredes L. Rubrii.** See c. 16, 40 The injured heirs probably took the opportunity of Antony's disgrace to beg for Caesar's interference. Some of their property, we may suppose, was added by Antony to the sale.

l. 23. **Proficiscitur in Hispaniam.** About the end of 46 B.C., to crush the resistance of Cn. and Sext. Pompeius.

l. 25. **Rudem.** The wand with which gladiators who had served their time were presented by the praetor, in token that they had earned their pension. Cp. Hor. Epp. 1. 1, 2 'Spectatum satis, et donatum iam rude quaeris;' Juv. 7. 171 'Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem;' and Mart. 3. 36, 10 'Ut nondum credas me meruisse rudem.' Some MSS. have 'rudem accepisti,' but the verb is wanting in the Vatican MS. See on c. 19, 48; and for the term **gladiator** as applied to Antony, cp. 7. 6, 17.

l. 26. **In suis partibus,** 'in following out his own policy; that is, in looking after his own interests.'

cc. 30, 31. *Thither Antony, after much delay, proposed to follow him, but only got as far as Narbo, leaving Dolabella to fight his battles for him,*

even against the sons of Pompey, who were seeking to regain from him their lost inheritance. From Narbo he returned, by night, in most unworthy guise, alarming all the city, that he might surprise his wife, and save his sureties from an execution on their property.

l. 31. **Ter depugnavit Caesar.** See on c. 15, 37.

P. 50. l. 1. **Nollem,** 'I would he had been absent.'

l. 2. **A primo,** 'from the outset:' cp. Att. 9. 6, 5 'Tuas nunc epistolas a primo lego.'

l. 3. **Quid es?** As we say, 'you are neither one thing nor the other:' neither loyal nor consistent. Cp. de Har. Resp. 20, 42 'Hic vero quid est? quid valet?'

If 'tum,' which is only to be found in the Vatican MS., is the genuine reading, it must be taken separately from 'primum,' which is 'in the first place,' as opposed to 'praeterea.'

l. 4. **Fuerit,** &c., 'grant that in this you were but abandoning *your party's* cause, the further object of their resistance touched yourself more nearly.'

l. 6. **In quae,** referring to masculine and feminine antecedents. Cp. Livy 44. 24 'Natura inimica sunt libera civitas et rex.'

l. 8. **Tamen** is resumptive, after the parenthesis introducing an apology for the word 'aequissimum.'

l. 10. **Narbone.** Narbo, the capital of Gallia Narbonensis, now Narbonne, at the mouth of the Aude, in the department of that name (in the province of Languedoc), was the furthest point that Antony reached in his journey to join Caesar.

Convomeres. Cp. c. 41, 104 'Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur;' and above c. 25, 63.

l. 12. **Narbone reditus,** 'return from Narbo.' In a letter to Atticus (9. 5, 1) we find a series of combinations of verbal nouns with the several cases denoting different relations of place: 'Sunt ista quidem difficillima, iter ad superum, navigatio infero, discessus Arpinum, mansio Formiis.' Cp. above c. 19, 48 'Iter Alexandream.'

Cur revertissem. See on 1. 3, 7, foll.

l. 17. **Calceis,** 'with my boots on,' i. e. fully dressed. Cp. pro Cael. 26, 62 'Calceati et vestiti.'

Toga. Juvenal mentions the relief from the necessity of wearing the toga as one of the pleasures of a country life: 11. 203

> 'Nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem
> Effugiatque togam.'

Cp. id. 3. 171

> 'Pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
> Nemo togam sumit, nisi mortuus;'

and Martial (10. 47, 5) enumerates among the things that make life happy, 'Lis numquam, toga rara, mens quieta.'

Gallicis. From Gellius (13. 21) we learn that 'gallicae' were a kind of sandals, like the Roman 'soleae,' and the Greek κρηπῖδες, covering only the sole of the feet. There was an ancient law at Rome, 'Neive quis in poplico luci praetextam, neive soleas habeto' (Marini, Atti degli Arvali, p. 569); and Cicero brings a reproach against Piso (c. 6. 13) 'Nescio quo e gurgustio te prodire, capite involuto, *soleatum*.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 33, 86.

Lacerna (cp. Hor. S. 2. 7, 55 'Odoratum caput obscurante lacerna), was a large riding cloak, fastened by a brooch, and used in Cicero's time (apparently not before) for travelling. Suetonius (Aug. 40) confirms the inference from this passage, that it was considered a mark of effeminate luxury to wear it in the city: 'Negotium aedilibus dedit (Augustus) ne quem posthac paterentur in foro Circove, nisi positis lacernis, togatum consistere.'

l. 18. **Ne tu.** See on c. 2, 3.

l. 23. **Rogares.** Abrami takes this change of words as though Cicero referred to Antony's obtaining the consulship as a gift from Caesar, not by a legitimate election. As, however, 'rogatio' is a regular word for a constitutional canvass, the explanation of Graevius seems better, that Antony, according to Cicero, begged the consulship as a favour from the people, instead of claiming it as the reward of his services. He compares pro Planc. 10, 25 'Neque enim sic rogabam, ut petere viderer, quia familiaris esset meus.'

l. 24. **A qua,** 'whose votes we used to ask, while votes were freely given.' Cp. Att. 1. 1, 2 'Fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, . . . excurremus mense Septembri (in the law vacation) legati ad Pisonem.'

l. 26. **Levitatem,** not, as in later writers, 'inconstancy,' but 'trifling,' as it is explained by Gellius 7. 11 'Veterum hominum qui proprie atque integre locuti sunt, *leves* dixerunt, quos vulgo nunc *viles* et nullo honore dignos dicimus, et *levitatem* appellaverunt proinde quasi *vilitatem*.'

l. 27. **Ad Saxa rubra,** on the Cremera, between Rome and Veii.

l. 28. **Vesperam.** So Halm from the Vatican MS. Other MSS. and Gellius (who quotes this passage, 7. 11) 'vesperum,' a form which occurs de Fin. 3. 2, 8.

l. 29. **Cisio,** 'in a gig.' 'Cisia' were two-wheeled vehicles, especially used for rapid travelling: cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 7, 19 'Decem horis nocturnis sex et quinquaginta milia passuum cisiis pervolavit.'

Capite obvoluto. Cp. in Pis. 6, 13, quoted above on § 76.

l. 30. **A Marco,** the praenomen only being given in his own house, among his own servants.

l. 31. **Ad eam.** Some MSS. add 'deducitur,' but the omission of the verb suits better the dramatic character of the scene.

P. 51. l. 1. **Illim,** 'from that quarter.' Halm maintains this form also in pro Rab. Post. 12, 35; de Har. Resp. 20, 42; instead of 'illinc,' which is formed from it by the addition of the demonstrative particle 'ce.'

l. 5. **Catamitum.** The inappropriateness of this reproach here led Heusinger to conjecture that this word is a corruption for the name of a well-known character in some play, who reappeared when he was supposed to be dead.

l. 8. **Causam amoris,** 'the plea of love to urge.'

l. 9. **Praedes tuos.** Caesar having apparently given orders to the praefecti urbis, of whom L. Plancus was one, that, if Antony did not pay the price of Pompey's house within the time appointed, a distress should be levied, and that, as was usual, not on the goods of Antony himself, but on those of his sureties. 'Praedes,' properly the sureties themselves, is here used for their goods. Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 54, 142 'Praedibus praediisque vendendis.'

Tuos. So Halm from the Vatican reading 'tus,' and from other MSS. Al. 'suos,' which agrees better with the MS. reading 'habuit,' for 'habuisti.'

l. 10. **Productus in contionem,** in order that the news which occasioned the mission of a special messenger might be made publicly known. When Antony declared that he had merely returned 'on urgent private affairs,' ('res tua' having moreover a special reference to 'love affairs,') the very people made jokes at his expense.

c. 32. *When Caesar was returning home, Antony went some way to meet him, and not only regained his favour,—to that his villainy was sufficient passport,—but obtained from him the consulship. In this Dolabella was cheated, first by Caesar grasping for himself what he had promised Dolabella, and secondly, by the conduct of Antony. Abject enough in all his demeanour towards his master, he had the face to declare beforehand that he, as Consul, would usurp the augur's duty, and pronounce the auspices faulty, whatever their real character might be.*

l. 14. **Isti, redisti.** So c. 35, 89: the omission of the copula marking more strongly the restlessness of the proceeding.

l. 15. **Strenuum,** 'active,' especially in travelling. Cp. Att. 15. 6, 2 'Noli me tam strenuum putare, ut ad nonas recurram.' Antony's reputation for bravery, Cicero says, was lost when he stopped short at Narbo; he sought to regain favour by his energy.

l. 16. **Habebat,** &c., 'this was exactly Caesar's way.' Cp. Pliny Ep. I. 12, 7 'Habebat enim hoc moris;' and Hor. S. I. 3, 3

'Sardus habebat
Ille Tigellius hoc.'

l. 21. **Impulsus, inductus, elusus.** The two latter words are explained by what follows; 'impulsus' probably means, excited with the hope of being Consul; cp. ad Brut. I. 10, 3 'Caesarem impulerunt in spem certissimam consulatus;' Suet. Ner. 35 'In spem imperii impellere.'

l. 23. **Receptum** adds to 'promissum' the further idea of 'guaranteeing:' cp. Att. 13. I, 2 'De aestate polliceris vel potius recipis.'

l. 25. **Kalendae Ianuariae,** when the Consuls entered on their office, 44 B.C.

l. 26. **In istum.** Against Antony, as the instrument of Caesar, whom he dared not attack directly for his treachery.

l. 29. **Proficisceretur.** On the expedition which, beginning with the subjugation of the Parthians, was intended to extend over Hyrcania, and the parts about the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, and passing through Scythia, to work its way back to Italy through Germany, completing thus the circle of his conquest. Plut. Caes. 58.

Iussurum. Cp. § 79 'iussus es,' the word being intentionally chosen to mark the despotic nature of the act, as Cicero himself points out in the words that follow.

l. 31. **Sed.** See on I. 11, 27.

l. 33. **Impedire, vel vitiare,** 'could prevent their being held, or, if they were, could make them null and void,' neither of which he had any right to do as augur. The several steps in the ceremony of taking the auspices were as follows:—First the Consul or other presiding magistrate ordered the inspection to be made. This order the augurs carried out, and made their report ('nuntiatio'), which the Consul then considered; and if he thought the omens unfavourable, he declared the business to be postponed ('obnuntiatio'). Hence the augurs' office was purely ministerial, as they could neither initiate the proceedings, nor decide on the result; though doubtless there were many cases in which the 'obnuntiatio' necessarily followed on their report. It is not clear to which part of the proceedings the term 'spectio' applies, though probably to the estimation of the auspices by the Consul, previous to his 'obnuntiatio.' A wholly different rite is referred to in the words 'de caelo servare,' the process there consisting in looking for omens in the heavens. This was only in the power of the presiding magistrate, and as the mere determination on his part 'to observe the sky' sufficed, whether omens were observed or not, it was possible to know beforehand

that the business would be thus postponed. Probably it was the immense power thus conveyed to one man in determining elections that led to the prohibition of this means of stopping them. Cp. de Dom. 15, 39 'Negant (augures) fas esse agi cum populo, cum de caelo servatum sit.'

P. 52. l. 4. **Nos enim,** 'we augurs,' see on c. 2, 3.

l. 9. **Aut id,** &c., or make them void, by breaking them off in the middle. See c. 32, 82.

l. 11. **Nisi qui,** &c. It is true that, as Abrami urges, the man who had determined 'de caelo servare' could not tell what bad omen he would see, and so Cicero's argument is informally expressed; but his meaning is clear, that by that determination alone could a man resolve beforehand that he would bring augury to bear in stopping the proceedings, since it was the only kind of divination in which, as we have seen above, it made no practical difference what was the result of his observations.

l. 12. **Per leges.** He apparently refers to a 'Lex Clodia,' passed by P. Clodius in his tribuneship, 58 B.C., and repealing the 'Lex Aelia et Fufia.' This latter law (or laws, for it is doubtful whether there was one or two, see Orelli, Onomast. 3. p. 130,) secured to the magistrates the right of stopping the 'comitia' if the omens were unfavourable, and also reserved to the tribunes their privilege of 'intercessio.' Cicero elsewhere denounces its repeal as removing one main bulwark of the constitution. (In Vatin. 9, 23; pro Sest. 15, 33.)

l. 17. **Apparitor,** a public servant of one of the minor magistrates, standing in the same relation to them as the lictors to the Consuls.

l. 18. **In aversam lecticam,** 'into the back of the litter.' He would respectfully follow his colleague's litter, and from time to time reach forward his head to the back of the litter as it was carried from him. The reading 'adversam,' which is found in several MSS., would represent him as bold enough to stop the litter when he met it in the street.

c. 33. *This monstrous rôle he carried out. After the election was concluded, he declared that it should not take place; and then again, when it so suited him, he acted as though it had been regular. On the consequences of his conduct Cicero would not utter an opinion, lest he should anticipate the formal judgment of the augurs, but at least it served to show the fellow's impudence.*

l. 19. **Ecce Dolabellae,** &c. The voting for the Consulship always took place in the Comitia Centuriata, in which however the system of voting was at this time complicated by a combination of the tribal divisions with the centuries, as established by Servius Tullius. The

system of classes determined by property seems to have been retained, but within the first class at any rate there was a subdivision according to tribes, the first class in each tribe being represented by one century of seniors and one of juniors. This appears, among other places, from a passage in Cic. de Rep. (3. 22, 39), from which we learn that whereas the whole number of centuries in the Comitia was 193, of these 89 were made up of the centuries of knights and the 'sex suffragia' (see on 1. 8, 20), the first class, and the odd century of the 'fabri' and 'tignarii,' who always voted with the first class. It will be seen that this account gives 70 centuries to the first class itself, and leaves only 104 for the other four classes. Of these it is probable, though there is no certain evidence on the point, that 70 belonged also to the second class, leaving only 34 for the remaining three classes, so that the poorer citizens, though they had the privilege, had very little of the power of the franchise. This account so far agrees with the present passage, as to show how it was that the voting was practically over when the first and second class had voted. First came the determination by lot which of the 70 centuries of the first class should vote first, **sortitio praerogativae** sc. **centuriae**. This decided, its vote was taken. Then the remaining centuries of the first class, including the century of smiths, were summoned to vote. Then in accordance with the usual custom, came the 'suffragia,' the centuries of knights being perhaps so called in popular language, or 'equitum' may have dropped out before the following 'tum.' This, as we have seen, would give 89 votes; so that if they were unanimous, as they seem to have been on the present occasion, only 8 votes from the second class were required to give an absolute majority, and the election was practically over when Antony adjourned it.

l. 24. **C. Laelium**: cp. Nat. Deor. 3. 2, 5 'Habeo C. Laelium augurem eundemque sapientem, quem potius audiam de religione in illa oratione nobili quam quemquam principem Stoicorum.'

Alio die. This was the regular formula for declaring the 'Comitia' to be adjourned; cp. de Legg. 2. 12, 31 'Quid gravius quam rem susceptam dirimi, si unus augur "alio die" dixerit.'

l. 26. **De caelo servasse.** See on § 81.

l. 31. **Obnuntiasti.** See on § 80.

l. 32. **Convellere,** 'to nullify;' cp. pro Caec. 18, 51 'Quae iudicia aut stipulationes aut pacti et conventi formula non infirmari ac convelli potest, si ad verba rem deflectere velimus.'

l. 33. **Deferantur,** 'the validity of which must at some future time be referred to the college of augurs for their decision.'

P. 53. l. 5. **Ea quae sit,** 'show us what meaning they can possibly bear that shall be consistent with your present recognition of Dolabella as consul.'

c. 34. *The worst was at the Lupercalia, when Antony not only so far forgot the dignity of the consulship as to run about the streets half naked, but tried to make himself and the Roman people openly the slaves of Caesar, by offering him a crown: and when Caesar had the grace to reject it, instead of letting the matter drop, he openly proclaimed, and caused it to be recorded in the public annals, that he had tried to establish at Rome such a tyranny as in olden times had caused the death or exile of all who aimed at it.*

l. 7. **Unam pulcherrimam**, 'the *very* fairest action:' cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 426 'Cadit et Rhipeus, iustissimus unus Qui fuit.'

l. 8. **Ad Lupercalia.** On the 15th of February. Plutarch (Caes. 61) describes the licence that prevailed during this festival, *τῶν εὐγενῶν νεανίσκων καὶ ἀρχόντων πολλοὶ διαθέουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν γυμνοὶ σκύτεσι λασίοις τοὺς ἐμποδὼν ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ γέλωτι παίοντες.* In his life of Antony, c. 12, he tells us that Antony took part in this; and in both places he gives a full account of his offering the crown to Caesar.

l. 10. **In porticu Minucia**, in the region of the Circus Flaminius, a little south-west of the circus itself, and adjoining the theatre of Balbus. It was built by L. Minucius Rufus, in commemoration of his victories in Thrace in 110 B.C. As assemblies of the people were often held there, the misconduct of Antony here alluded to is probably the same that is described in c. 25, 63.

l. 13. **Ubi campus Leontinus appareat**, 'what we have to show for the land at Leontini.' See c. 17, 43 note.

l. 14. **Amictus toga purpurea**, &c. *ἐπὶ δίφρου χρυσοῦ θριαμβικῷ κόσμῳ κεκοσμημένος*, Plut. Caes. 61. Suetonius tells us that the Senate decreed to Caesar the right of wearing a crown of laurel, a privilege which he especially valued, as a means of concealing his incipient baldness. Suet. Caes. 45; cp. *ib.* 76.

l. 15. **Ita . . . ut**, 'your being Lupercus was subject to the condition of your remembering that you were Consul;' 'you were bound, Lupercus as you were, to remember the obligations of your consulship.' Cp. Off. 1. 25, 88 'Ita probanda est mansuetudo atque clementia, ut adhibeatur reipublicae causa severitas.'

l. 19. **Diadema.** *διάδημα στεφάνῳ δάφνης περιπεπλεγμένον*, Plut. Caes. 61. The crime was intensified by the fact that it sprung from no momentary impulse, but had been carefully planned and rehearsed ('meditatum') at home, as was proved by his bringing the crown with him.

Imponebas, &c., '*again and again* you tried to place it on his brow, amid the hooting of the people, and *so often* he refused it amid their applause.' Cp. 3. 5, 12.

l. 21. **Auctor regni.** See c. 22, 53 note.

l. 25. **Peteres.** Abrami takes this as equivalent to 'petere debebas;' but granting that the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive may sometimes express what *ought to have been done* (see Madv. § 351 b. Obs. 4), it seems better here to take it, with Halm, 'you might ask, if you would, for yourself.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 66, 168 'Etiamne id magnum fuit, Panormum litteras mittere? Adservasses hominem, . . . aliquid de summo supplicio remitteres.'

l. 28. **Nudus**, cp. 3. 5, 12. The customary dress of the Luperci at their festival being only an apron of goatskin (cp. Ov. Fast. 5. 101 'Semicaper coleris cinctutis, Faune, Lupercis,' *ib.* 2. 283 foll.), the reproach to Antony consists not in his being thus half naked, but in his coming forward in such a guise to harangue the people as Consul.

l. 30. **Stimulis fodiamus.** An ox-goad was commonly used to punish offending slaves: cp. Plaut. Curc. 1. 2, 43 'Etiam mihi quoque stimulo fodere lubet te.'

l. 31. **Haec oratio**, 'this speech of mine.'

l. 33. **Quid indignius quam.** Cicero himself says, Att. 16. 11, 2, that he thinks this would be better changed: 'Illud etiam malo, "indignissimum est hunc vivere," quam, "quid indignius."' The original reading is however found in the Vatican MS.

P. 54. l. 2. **In fastis.** In the 'fasti annales,' the public records of the chief events in the year. Cp. Hor. Od. 4. 13, 14

> 'Nec clari lapides (referunt) tempora, quae semel
> Notis condita fastis
> Inclusit volucris dies.'

Ad Lupercalia, 'under the heading of the Lupercalia,' 'at its date.'

l. 7. **De die** evidently means 'extravagantly,' and perhaps is to be explained by Hor. Od. 1. 1, 20 'Nec partem solido demere de die Spernit:' the extravagance consisting in abstracting from business hours some extra time for feasting. Cp. Id. Epp. 1. 14, 34 'Media de luce;' Livy 23. 8 'Coeperunt epulari de die.' So Catull. 47, 5

> 'Vos convivia lauta sumptuose
> De die facitis.'

Halm takes it of living on what the day brings forth.

In diem, 'only for the day,' without thought for the morrow: cp. 5. 9, 25 'Qui in horam viverent;' de Orat. 2. 40, 169 'Si barbarorum est in diem vivere.'

l. 10. **Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius.** See c. 11, 26 notes. From the omission of the second 'Spurius' in the Vatican MS., some editors have written here 'Spurii Cassius, Maelius,' as if the 'praenomen' could be used once for the two names. Madvig (Opusc. 1. p. 70) points out the

barbarism of this, and suggests the reading in the text, from a comparison of c. 44, 114.

cc. 35, 36. *The death of Caesar had prevented Antony from giving an explanation about the auspices. It also caused him, under the influence of terror, to make more show of patriotic feeling than Cicero could possibly believe would last. It was true that he stirred up the riot which took place at Caesar's funeral; but then he passed those excellent decrees, forbidding the recall of exiles, or the granting of immunities, and abolishing for ever the office of dictator. Yet, even at the time, he was violating these decrees; and not content with squandering the public funds, he was selling pardons and immunities by wholesale at his home.*

l. 13. **Fuit acturus.** As Caesar was intending to start on his Parthian expedition on the 19th of March, it was necessary that the validity of Dolabella's election, as Consul in his place, should be determined before his departure; and it seems that on the very day of his death he was going to bring the matter before the senate.

l. 15. **Ementitis auspiciis.** Cp. c. 33, 83; 3. 4, 9. Fictitious however though they were, yet being formally declared, these auspices could not be ignored till they had been as formally annulled; hence 'parere necesse erat.'

l. 16. **Putares.** For this use of the subjunctive see c. 4, 7 note.

l. 17. **Sustulit,** 'rendered unavailable for public business.' Cp. de Dom. 17. 45 'Si qua res illum diem aut auspiciis aut excusatione sustulit, tota causa iudiciumque sublatum sit.'

l. 18. **Tuum de auspiciis iudicium.** Since nothing more was heard of any objections to the validity of Dolabella's election.

l. 19. **Quod ... praevertendum est,** 'which claims precedence of the other matters.' 'Praevertor' (rarely 'praeverto,' as in Tac. Ann. 4. 32) is commonly used in the sense of 'turning first to,' though seldom, as here, with an accusative case after it. Cp., however, Livy 8. 13 'Coacti novi consules omnibus eam rem praeverti.'

l. 20. **Quae tua fuga!** We learn from Plutarch (Ant. 14) that Antony, on hearing of Caesar's assassination, hid himself in the disguise of a slave.

l. 22. **Si sanus esses,** 'if you would but entertain sound views about the state:' cp. c. 21, 51 'Ipsi C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis.'

l. 29. **Irent redirent.** See c. 31, 78 note.

l. 32. **Post diem tertium,** 'two days after,' on the 17th of March, according to the Roman inclusive mode of reckoning: cp. de Div. 1. 25, 52 'Est apud Platonem Socrates . . . dicens Critoni sibi post tertium diem esse moriendum:' and Tac. Ann. 1. 62 'Post sextum cladis annum.'

Veni in aedem Telluris. See 1. 1, 1 note.

l. 33. **Qui tibi dies ille!** 'what a day of glory was that for you!' as being marked by his zeal for the real interests of the state. See 1. 1, 2. For the expression cp. 'Qui tu vir!' just below.

P. 55. l. 2. **Invideris,** 'you have grudged yourself the fame you had achieved,' 'have interfered with your own interests.'

l. 4. **Per puerum.** See 1. 1, 2 note.

l. 5. **M. Bambalionis.** That Bambalio was the nickname of M. Fulvius, the father of Fulvia, not of the father of Fadia, Antony's first wife, as some have thought, is proved both by the praenomen, Fadius' name being Quintus, c. 2, 3; and by 3. 6, 16, where he explains the meaning of the name.

l. 6. **Diuturnus.** Cp. Off. 2. 7, 23 'Malus est custos diuturnitatis metus.' His meaning is, that where fear is the only monitor to duty, the removal of the fear will cause the immediate neglect of the duty.

l. 9. **Si illud funus fuit.** Cp. 1. 2, 5 'Illam insepultam sepulturam;' and note.

l. 12. **Semustilatus,** 'scorched.' The taunt is not only unworthy of Cicero, but also untrue, as Caesar's body was consumed to ashes: cp. Att. 14. 10, 1 'Ille etiam in foro combustus.' Ferrarius compares pro Mil. 13, 33 'Tu P. Clodii cruentum cadaver . . . infelicissimis lignis semustilatum, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti.'

L. Bellieni. Perhaps the same man whom Caelius mentions (Cic. Fam. 8. 15, 2) as 'verna Demetrii,' Demetrius being a favourite freed man of Antony's. The burning of his house, and the murder, by mistake, of Helvius Cinna, appear to have been the only serious deeds of mischief done by the mob after Caesar's funeral.

l. 15. **Idem tamen, &c.** For the following acts of Antony, see 1. 1, 3 notes.

l. 22. **Omne nomen.** So Halm, with Muretus, from the Vatican reading 'omen nomen,' instead of the common reading 'omnem propter proximum dictatorem tolleres metum.' It seems however probable that in the Vatican reading 'omen' is superfluous, brought in from 'nomen' following, as in the next line in the same MS. 'res' is written twice. Madvig points out that 'omne nomen tollere' would not be good Latin for 'funditus nomen tollere.'

l. 27. **Populis universis.** In c. 38, 97 he specifies Crete. Cp. also 3. 12, 30 'Vendiderit immunitates? civitates liberaverit? provincias universas ex imperii populi Romani iure sustulerit?' and 1. 10, 24 note.

l. 32. **Domesticis nundinis.** See on c. 14, 35.

c. 37. *The most absurd thing was a decree in favour of Deiotarus, professedly proceeding from Caesar, who was to the last his bitterest enemy; really a piece of jobbery on the part of Antony, who hoped to get*

ten million sesterces for granting to Deiotarus the territory of which he had already taken possession, without waiting for his aid.

l. 33. **Septiens miliens**, sc. 'sestertium.' See introduction to the first oration; c. 14, 35 note; and 1. 7, 17 note. Two MSS. supply 'sestertium.' As in such expressions 'sestertium' is always treated as a singular noun (whence the singular relative 'quod'), so that here it would be the nominative case, 'funestae pecuniae' is not in apposition with it, but rather depends on 'tabulis:' cp. 5. 6, 15 'Direptio eius pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est.' See also on § 95.

P. 56. l. 2. **A tributis.** The 'tributum,' or war tax, levied on all real property, had been discontinued since the time of the Macedonian war, in 147 B.C., in consequence of the influx of revenue from the provinces. It became necessary to reimpose it in the year following this speech.

l. 3. **Quadringentiens sestertium.** Forty millions of sesterces, or nearly 360,000*l.* The enormous scale of the incomes and debts of the leading Romans of this period is well illustrated by M. Boissier, in his work *Sur la Vie privée des Romains.*

Idibus . . . Kalendas. The usual times for settling accounts between debtor and creditor. Cp. Hor. S. 1. 3, 87 'Tristes Kalendae:' id. Epod. 2, 69

'Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,
Quaerit Kalendis ponere.'

l. 6. **Deiotaro.** Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, was invested by the Romans with the title of king in gratitude for his services in the war with Mithridates. Having aided Pompey in the civil war, he was deprived of his dominions by Caesar, but resumed them on hearing of the dictator's death, and induced Antony to confirm his title by a bribe of ten millions of sesterces, or nearly 90,000*l.*

l. 10. **Massiliensibus.** Cp. pro Font. 1, 3 'Urbs Massilia fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum, qui Gallicorum bellorum pericula a populo Romano copiis armisque propulsarunt.' Hence when Caesar reduced it, in 48 B.C., in consequence of its adherence to Pompey, Cicero tells us that the Roman citizens mourned over its humiliation as their own. See 8. 6, 17.

l. 12. **Igitur.** In consequence of the rare use by Cicero of 'igitur' at the beginning of a clause, various emendations, such as 'is igitur,' 'sed igitur,' 'figitur,' &c., have been suggested. Madvig (Opusc. 1. p. 206) defends the simple 'igitur,' comparing c. 16, 41, and urging that Cicero's meaning is obvious enough, that having shown that Caesar was Deiotarus' bitterest foe, he concludes ironically, from Antony's decree, that they must have been reconciled after Caesar's death. See also Zumpt, § 357.

l. 13. **Aequi boni.** See on 1. 1, 1.

l. 14. **Compellarat hospitem praesens,** 'Caesar had sent for him when staying in his house;' cp. in Senatu 13, 32 'Nominatim alii compellabantur, alii citabantur, alii relegabantur.' Caesar passed through Galatia in 47 B.C., returning from his campaign in Pontus against Pharnaces.

l. 15. **Impetrarat.** So Halm, from the Vatican MS.; Orelli, from another MS., 'imperarat.'

Unum . . collocarat. Mithridates of Pergamus, a natural son of Mithridates the Great, on whom at the same time Caesar conferred the title of king of the Bosporus.

l. 16. **Armeniam.** The little Armenia, which Caesar probably gave to Ariobarzanes III, king of Cappadocia.

l. 18. **Mira verborum complexio,** 'a strange combination of words;' viz. the indiscriminate use of 'aequum' and 'non iniquum' in the same decree. Cicero again finds fault with Antony's Latinity, 3. 9, 22; and 13. 19, 43.

l. 20. **Adfui.** The last cause that Cicero pleaded was that of Deiotarus, when he was accused by his grandson Castor of designs on Caesar's life. The case was heard before Caesar, 45 B.C., on which occasion Cicero delivered his extant speech, *pro Rege Deiotaro*, but the dictator postponed the decision of the case till he should have made personal inquiries on the spot.

l. 21. **Syngrapha** was the special term for a contract which did not necessarily involve the receipt of a valuable consideration by the person who paid the money. Hence it would be appropriate to the present case, when the benefit which Antony proposed to confer on Deiotarus was at once illegal and beyond his power. See Asconius on Verr. Act. 2. 1. 36, 91. For the story cp. Att. 14. 12, 1 'Quid? Deiotari nostri causa non similis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam;' and see c. 44, 113; 36, 92 notes.

Sestertii centiens. In such expressions it would seem that the contracted genitive plural of 'sestertius' is treated as a singular neuter noun = 1000 sesterces (see on 5. 3, 8), and that its case is determined by the construction required for the expression of the whole sum. Hence in § 93 'quadringentiens sestertium' is 'a sestertium reckoned 400 times,' or, as this mode of reckoning always implied an addition of a hundred-fold, 40,000,000 sesterces. So here 'sestertii' depends, not on 'centiens,' but on 'syngrapha,' a 'contract for 10,000,000 sesterces.' So in the ablative, pro Font. 3, 4 'Testis non invenitur in ducentiens et triciens sestertio;' Pliny N. H. 8. 48, 74 'Quae Neroni principi quadragiens sestertio nuper stetere.'

l. 25. **Meditere censeo,** 'I recommend you to consider very carefully:' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 68, 174 'Magno opere censeo desistas.'

l. 26. **Sua sponte.** So that Antony's contract, even if otherwise not fraudulent, fell to the ground, as being based upon a promise to give Deiotarus what was already in his actual possession.

l. 30. **Iure consultus.** So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'iureis,' which he conceives to be a confusion of the right and wrong readings. In 9. 5, 10 Cicero uses the form 'iuris consultus,' but there, as in pro Mur. 13, 28, and de Orat. 1. 55, 235 the participial force of the word, '*experienced in* jurisprudence,' is strongly dwelt on; and where the term is simply used for 'a lawyer,' 'iure consultus' seems to be the ordinary form. Yet Horace, A. P. 369, has 'consultus iuris,' evidently meaning no more than 'a lawyer.'

Iste. Supposed by Manutius to be Sext. Clodius, the tool of P. Clodius, whose recall from exile Antony procured. See 1. 1, 3 note.

l. 33. **Suum sibi venderes.** The subjunctive mood and the reflexive pronoun are used for the same reason, because the clause expresses the state of Deiotarus' mind. 'He entered on possession of his rights, without waiting to know that you had sold him what was his already.'

P. 57. l. 1. **Auctorem odimus.** Halm compares 13. 1, 2 'Quid ego de proximo (sc. Caesare) dicam, cuius acta defendimus, auctorem ipsum iure caesum fatemur?'

cc. 38, 39. *To tell of all the forgeries of Antony would take too long. Decrees were issued under Caesar's name without waiting for the meeting of the committee which the senate had appointed to examine the dictator's papers; Caesar was represented as foreseeing all the changes which his death would cause in his arrangements for the provinces; Crete was henceforth to be lost to Rome; enough exiles were restored to render it injustice not to bring back all; his uncle, L. Antonius, was neglected, insulted, and betrayed; and to crown all, he brought a false and cowardly charge of faithlessness against his wife, that uncle's daughter, that he might make room for her successor.*

l. 4. **Institores.** So Halm, from Pantagathus, and Madvig from his own independent conjecture. He urges (Opusc. 1. p. 173) that the MS. reading 'imitatores' is obviously false, not only because no one would have dared to forge the documents except Antony, but even if they had, and further had found purchasers for their forgeries, that would have brought no gain to Antony, whereas Cicero directly states that the circumstance which he relates was the source of enormous profit to him. 'Institores' are 'hawkers,' as in Ov. A. Am. 1. 421

'Institor ad dominam veniet discinctus emacem,
Expediet merces teque sedente suas.'

Libellos, 'programmes:' cp. Tac. Dial. de Or. 9 'Subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit.'

l. 6. **Expendantur,** 'are weighed,' as is customary with large sums of money, which would take too long a time to count.

l. 9. **Post M. Brutum pro consule,** 'after the proconsulship of M. Brutus.' Cicero argues that Antony here betrays the falseness of the decrees attributed to Caesar, by making one of them refer to Brutus' proconsulship in Crete, though his only connexion with that province arose out of Antony's alteration of Caesar's arrangements, after Caesar's death.

l. 10. **Constringendus,** 'put in confinement:' cp. in Pis. 20, 48 'Si familiam tuam dimisisses, amici te constringendum putarent.'

l. 14. **Nemo ullius,** &c., there has been nothing which Antony would not sell, if he could only find a purchaser.

l. 16. **Fixisti,** as being one of Caesar's laws.

l. 17. **Eorum reditus inquinatos,** the slur thrown upon the more respectable exiles, by being coupled in their restoration with such reprobates.

l. 22. **Patrui.** See c. 23, 56 note.

l. 24. **Risus et querellas.** Men laughed at the idea of a man who had been exiled for extortion in his province being a candidate for such a magistracy as the censorship: they grieved at the unnatural conduct of Antony, in exposing his uncle to such contempt. That C. Antonius had been recalled from exile is clear from § 99. The real reason for not carrying through the election of censors probably was the people's obvious disapproval of the candidate whom Antony proposed.

l. 25. **Sinistrum fulmen.** It was at the Comitia only that this was an unfavourable sign: see de Div. 2. 18, 43 'Comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus optumum auspicium habemus, si sinistrum fuit.'

l. 26. **Tua . . . tuorum.** Cp. Fam. 2. 4, 1 'Si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset;' and for different views as to the case of 'tua,' see Zumpt § 449 note, Madvig § 295, Donaldson § 152 c.

l. 27. **In septemviratu.** The commission for dividing lands in Campania and the Leontine territory among the veterans. The acts of this commission were afterwards annulled on the ground that its appointment had been procured by intimidation.

l. 28. **Cui metuisti.** So Madvig (Opusc. 1, p. 171) from the Vatican reading 'cũ.' The other MSS. read 'quem,' but the direct object of Antony's fear was not Nucula or Lento, but the danger of disobliging whichever of these worthies Cicero here refers to.

l. 31. **Debebas.** See Madv. § 348 e.

Sororem. His first cousin, Antonia, whom he divorced on the pretext of an intrigue with Dolabella, in order to marry Fulvia, the other 'match' ('conditio') referred to here.

P. 58. l. 5. In Dolabellam. This, at least, is a mere rhetorical licence. Dolabella was notoriously one of the most profligate men of his time.

l. 7. **Tam spurce, tam impie,** 'with such want of decency and good feeling.'

l. 8. **Quae . . . cognitio?** 'what was the nature of your investigation?' The senate had appointed a committee ('consilium') to investigate Caesar's papers with the two Consuls on the 1st of June; but Antony submitted the papers to the cognizance of no one but himself; and when the appointed day arrived, he had surrounded himself with such a force as to bear down all cavil or opposition.

l. 15. **Quas Kalendas,** 'what was the aspect of the Kalends you awaited?'

cc. 39, 40. *In the spring he made a progress through Campania, which he tried to divide among a party of actors and actresses: just as he had given Leontini to his doctor and his tutor, who alike had failed in doing any good with him: he founded a new colony at Casilinum, in spite of Cicero's remonstrances, on the site of one which then existed; and then, to crown his sacrilege with robbery, he seized on M. Varro's villa at Casinum, under the pretence that he had purchased it from Caesar, who had really even ordered him to give it up.*

l. 18. **Etiam Capuam.** Capua had been made a Roman colony by Caesar, who in 59 B.C. settled 20,000 Roman citizens in the 'ager Campanus.' It was therefore illegal (see c. 40, 102) to found a new colony there, and Antony's proceedings would nominally be limited to the reassignment of lots which had reverted to the state by the death or relinquishment of their original holders. He would doubtless in some cases oust existing occupiers, so as to give some ground for the sweeping charge which Cicero brings against him. (See Merivale, 3. p. 61.)

l. 19. **Paene non abieris.** The Capuans seem to have ejected the colonists whom Antony tried to force upon them both by force of law and by force of arms.

l. 20. **Utinam conere,** 'I wish you would try to carry out your threats.'

l. 23. **Illa nostra,** 'ours are yet to be told.'

l. 24. **De vectigalibus eximebatur,** 'was struck out of the list of "agri vectigales."' This was the natural result of the land being taken out of the hands of the subject population, who paid 'decumae' to the Roman treasury, and divided among colonists, who held it in absolute ownership, subject to no payment of any sort.

l. 25. **Tamen,** 'notwithstanding the goodness of the object.'

l. 26. **Hunc.** For this redundant use of the demonstrative pronoun, after a long relative clause, see Madv. § 489 a.

l. 29. **Quoniam** introduces the reason why he brings in the subject

of Leontini in this connexion. 'And yet the association is natural, since, &c.'

Arationes. This word is especially applied to the Roman state lands, farmed on the principle of paying tithes to the treasury: cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 50, 119 'Arationes et agros vectigales vastasse atque exinanisse.' Among them the lands of Campania and Leontini were pre-eminent in fertility: cp. 8. 8, 26 'Campanus ager et Leontinus, quae duo maiores nostri annonae perfugia ducebant.'

l. 30. **Grandiferae.** Orelli, following one MS. reads 'grandi fenore,' to avoid a word which seems not to occur again in classical Latin; but 'grandiferae' is not only the reading of the Vatican and other MSS., but is stated by the satirist Marcianus Capella (5. § 511) to have been used by Cicero, while it certainly suits better in combination with 'fructuosae.

l. 31. **Quid, si.** So the Vatican MS. The others read 'quasi,' but there is more force in the reading of the text, 'He got 3,000 iugera for failing; what would have been his fee, had he succeeded?'

l. 33. **Casilinum,** where Caesar had planted another colony of veterans, was on the Volturnus, only three miles west of Capua, and on the site of the modern town of that name.

P. 59. l. 2. **Tu quidem,** 'your question, it is true, referred to Capua.'

l. 8. **Ut vexillum tolleres,** 'going so far as to display your standard,' using all the formalities customary in taking possession of a military colony.

l. 11. **M. Varronis.** This was M. Terentius Varro, 'vir Romanorum eruditissimus,' as Quintilian (10. 1, 95) terms him. He himself describes the aviary in this villa at Casinum, de Re Rust. 3. 5, 9. He belonged to the Pompeian party.

l. 13. **L. Rubrii . . . L. Turselii.** See c. 16, 40 and 41. Cicero appears originally to have written here, 'Eodem iure quo Scipionis praedia,' and to have altered it on the suggestion of Atticus, perhaps on the ground that Antony had not acquired Scipio's villa in this way. See Att. 16. 11, 2 and Mr. Watson's note.

l. 16. **Quibus debuisti,** sc. for the property of Pompey, which he had bought when it was sold by auction. See c. 26, 64.

Quibus tu te liberavisti. This, by a play on the word 'tabulae,' refers to the forged 'acta Caesaris,' through which Antony had replenished his ruined fortunes.

l. 20. **Ipsum enim exspectare.** Caesar did not return to Rome till September, and then unexpectedly, in consequence of the disturbances resulting from the quarrels of the tribunes, P. Dolabella and L. Trebellius, so that Cicero's accusation of unnecessary haste is hardly fair. It is however only a rhetorical introduction to the real burden of the charge,

consisting in the fact that, so far from sanctioning the sale of Varro's property, Caesar had actually commanded restitution to be made.

l. 21. **Nullius autem salus,** &c. And therefore the negative evidence, that no one had heard of it, went far to prove that no such spoliation had taken place.

l. 24. **Remove gladios.** See on c. 18, 46.

l. 25. **Aliam causam esse,** &c., i. e. in consenting to ratify the acts of Caesar, we do not sanction every act of your rapacity.

l. 27. **Procurator,** an agent, with full powers to act for his absent employer: cp. pro Caec. 20, 31 'Is qui legitime procurator dicitur, omnium rerum eius, qui in Italia non sit absitve rei publicae causa, quasi quidam paene dominus, hoc est, alieni iuris vicarius.'

c. 41. *In that villa, formerly the seat of learned study, he indulged his usual profligacy, neglecting all the ordinary courtesies expected from a Roman Consul towards his neighbours in the country; and on his journey back to Rome he treated those who came to greet him with the same disdain. Some, who had adopted Cassius and the Bruti as their patrons, he took upon himself to chide in the most abusive language.*

l. 29. **Ab hora tertia.** From about 8.30 a.m.; the usual time for feasts to begin being the ninth hour (cp. Fam. 9. 26, 1 'Accubueram hora nona;' and Mart. 4. 8, 6 'Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros'), or in winter the tenth, to balance the variation of the time. (See Becker's Gallus, p. 456, Eng, Trans.)

l. 30. **Quam dispari domino.** A quotation from some tragedy, given more fully in Off. 1. 139 'O domus antiqua, heu quam dispari dominare domino.' The ablative here is probably merely retained from the familiar quotation, without any consideration of its possible dependence on 'misera.'

P. 60. l. 1. **Iura populi Romani,** &c. Distinct reference is here made, as Halm points out, to the treatises of Varro de Iure Civili, in fifteen books; de Vita Pop. Rom. in four books; Annales, in three books; Antiquitates, in forty-one books; de Forma Philosophiae; and his nine books Disciplinarum.

l. 2. **Ratio,** &c., 'the theory or method of all philosophy and learning.'

l. 3. **Inquilino,** 'tenant.' So Catiline says, 'sibi patricio homini perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius *inquilinus* civis urbis Romae' (Sall. Cat. 31, 7), with reference to Cicero being a native of Arpinum.

l. 7. **Iure id quidem,** 'so far you did well, not to let provincials see the tarnished glory of the Roman magistracy.'

l. 12. **Sed tamen,** 'yet they had the excuse of living on his road.'

The Via Latina passed through Aquinum, seven miles from Casinum, whereas it left Anagnia on an eminence slightly to the right.

l. 13. **Tamquam si esset,** 'as though he had not forfeited the dignity.'

l. 14. **Sed tum nimis,** 'all testimony at the time was too unanimous to be discredited.' So Halm in his large edition, following two MSS., for the unintelligible reading of the Vatican MS. 'sed cum uinus.'

l. 15. **Praesertim cum,** 'even though.' See on c. 24, 60.

Duos Anagninos. Cp. Att. 16. 11, 3. 'Anagnini sunt Mustela ταξιάρχης et Laco, qui plurimum bibit.' It would seem that Cicero had originally omitted the names of these two men, and inserted them in consequence of a criticism from Atticus.

l. 20. **Patronos adoptassent.** This was not an uncommon compliment for the provincial towns to pay to their benefactors among the Roman citizens. Cp. in Pis. 11, 25 'Me inaurata statua donarant; me patronum unum adsciverant.'

l. 22. **Non modo,** 'to say nothing of being their client.' See Madv. § 461 b, Obs. 3.

c. 42. *Once more in Rome, he made his colleague lay aside his patriotic zeal. And for himself, he outdid all the tyranny of former tyrants; he took possession of the city by force; he prevented the senate from assembling by his violence; and treated laws and wills alike with contempt, destroying the safeguards of the constitution, and robbing the people of the legacies which Caesar had bequeathed to them.*

l. 24. **Bustum.** See 1. 2, 5 note.

l. 26. **Concidisti,** 'you collapsed:' cp. 5. 9, 23 'Quo ille nuntio audito, . . repente concidit.'

Metum. So in 1. 12, 29 he repudiates the notion of Dolabella being actuated by corrupt motives. See note.

l. 27. **De caelo detraxisti.** Cp. Att. 14. 18, 1 'Saepius me iam agitas, quod rem gestam Dolabellae nimis in caelum videar efferre;' *ib.* 6. 2, 9 'Salaminii nos in caelum decretis suis sustulerunt.'

l. 31. **Memineramus . . . videramus.** Cicero was about 20 years old when Cinna was in power (87–84 B.C.), but it was during the dictatorship of Sulla (82–79 B.C.) that he first came forward into public life: cp. 5. 6, 17 'Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam, modo Caesarem.'

l. 33. **Nec ita multi,** 'and not so very many:' not by way of direct comparison with those of Antony, but absolutely, to show that Caesar had a certain moderation in his lawlessness.

P. 61. l. 1. **Barbaria,** 'Asiatic despotism' (Halm).

l. 2. **Lecticas.** Cp. 5. 6, 18 'Lecticae collocabantur, non quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipsi ferrent, laborarent.'

l. 5. **At iste,** &c. The connexion of the clauses is not very clear; 'qui . . . egeret' is explanatory; 'statimque . . . effecit' answers to 'neque desideravit quemquam:' cp. Cat. 2. 13, 28 'Perficiam . . . ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis;' and 'et . . laetatus est' is parenthetical. 'Yet Antony, standing in no need of a senate, showed no dismay at anybody's absence, being indeed rather rejoiced at our departure, and immediately carried out his marvellous atrocities.' Halm reads '*sed* . . . laetatus est,' but on no authority, and the intervening 'et' perhaps accounts for the unusual combination of 'neque . . . que.' See Madv. § 458 c.

l. 10. **Numerum annorum.** See 1. 8, 19 note, and 5. 3, 7.

l. 14. **Sine promulgatione sustulit,** 'he abolished without ever publishing the "abrogatio."' Cicero complains of the same irregularity in the opposite direction, 1. 10, 25 'illae enim (leges) sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae.'

Alias . . promulgavit. This seems to mean, 'to abolish other laws, he published bills to a contrary effect;' as in the case of the 'iudicium,' when Caesar had reduced the 'decuriae' to two, and Antony proposed a law reconstituting a third. The required sense however is hard to extract from the text, unless we suppose some such words as 'novas leges' to have dropped out.

l. 16. **Obtentum est,** 'has always been maintained, even in the interests of the lowest citizens.' Cp. Tusc. 5. 41, 118 'lex, quae in Graecorum conviviis obtinetur.' 'Civibus' is a 'dativus commodi.'

l. 17. **Cum hortis.** These were on the Etruscan side of the Tiber (cp. Hor. S. 1. 9, 18 'Trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Caesaris hortos'), below the city, about a mile distant from the Porta Portuensis.

c. 43. *And even in his love for Caesar he was not consistent. He was Caesar's flamen, the minister of the divine honours lately voted to him. Now was the time for the celebration of his festival, yet Antony was not preparing for the task. To account for this neglect far clearer eloquence was needed than his grandfather's, who however never clothed his thoughts in so thin a disguise as Antony had worn at the Lupercalia.*

l. 21. **Pulvinar,** &c., 'a couch to support his image at the "lectisternium," an image to adorn his temple, a temple with a pediment, a special priest to do him service.' Cp. Flor. 4. 2 'Non ingratis civibus, omnes unum in principem congesti honores; circa templa imagines; in theatro distincta radiis corona; suggestus in curia; fastigium in domo; mensis in caelo.'

Simulacrum is generally, like 'signum,' the statue of a god, but not universally: see Verr. Act. 2. 2. 65, 159 'Forsitan vix convenire

videretur, quem ipsum hominem cuperent (Rhodii) evertere, eius (sc. Mithridatis) effigiem simulacrumque servare.'

l. 22. **Ut Iovi**, &c. The Flamines of these three gods were always patricians, and were called 'flamines maiores.' Hence the bathos of the descent, from Jupiter to Caesar, from the flamen Dialis to Antony. Antony had sought and obtained this office of flamen during Caesar's life, but had not been consecrated, and after Caesar's death had shrunk from it.

l. 26. **Mortui.** See on I. 6, 13.

l. 27. **In Circo.** The 'Ludi Romani in Circo' appear to have been a continuation, after two days' interval, of the 'Ludi Magni:' these latter lasting from the 4th to the 12th of September, the former generally from the 15th to the 18th, but this year, in honour of Caesar, was added the 19th, on which day Cicero represents himself as speaking.

l. 31. **Supplicationes**, &c., 'were you so inconsistent, that, while permitting the profanation of the supplications, by allowing one in honour of a dead man, you respected the "lectisternium" too much to allow a mortal to encroach upon it?' The clause 'supplicationes . . . passus es,' though grammatically parallel to 'pulvinaria . . . noluisti,' is really subordinate. This arrangement, called by the grammarians 'parataxis,' is common in Greek. See Dissen on Dem. Cor. p. 281, 7 *αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀνέξεσθε*; and cp. Cic. Tusc. 5. 32, 90 'An Scythes Anacharsis potuit pro nihilo pecuniam ducere, nostrates philosophi facere non potuerunt?'

P. 62. l. 6. **Apertiorem in dicendo**, 'you showed less reserve.' Cicero plays on the double meaning of 'apertus,' referring to Antony's naked harangue at the Lupercalia (see c. 34, 86), and to his openness of speech. Cp. pro Mur. 25, 51 'Ille, ut semper fuit, apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit.'

l. 8. **Hiscere**, 'to open your mouth at all.' Cp. Liv. 6. 16 'Nec adversus dictatoriam vim aut tribuni plebis aut ipsa plebs adtollere oculos aut hiscere audebant.'

c. 44. *Even while Cicero was speaking, Antony was acting unconstitutionally in blockading the senate with a mercenary force. At the best, it was mistaken policy, since love, not terror, was the best protection for a Roman magistrate; and if he used a tyrant's arms, Romans would never forget, and never shrink from following the glorious examples of those who, in the spirit of their ancestors, asserted with the sword the sacred cause of liberty.*

l. 13. **Cur armatorum**, &c. See on c. 18, 46.

l. 16. **Ityraeos.** See on c. 8, 19.

l. 19. **Sed nullum**, &c. Cp. I. 14, 33; and Off. 2. 7, 25 'Nec vero

ulla vis imperii tanta est, quae premente metu possit esse diuturna;' Pliny Pan. 49, 3 'Frustra se terrore succinxerit, qui septus caritate non fuerit: armis enim arma irritantur.'

l. 21. **Salvis nobis**, 'before we are utterly destroyed.'

l. 24. **Minime avara coniunx**, 'most liberal of wives.' She had sacrificed two husbands to the Roman people already—P. Clodius and C. Curio;—the third and last instalment of her debt was overdue. 'Pensio' is the technical word for instalments to be paid at regular intervals, and is especially applied to the restitution of the dowry of a divorced wife by her husband, which he was required to make in three annual payments.

Sine contumelia. See on c. 12, 30.

l. 26. **Ad quos**, sc. Brutus and Cassius, and the other conspirators.

l. 28. **Ipsa respublica.** Cp. Thuc. 7. 77, 7 *ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί.*

l. 29. **Nondum recuperavit**, having merely exchanged the yoke of Caesar for that of Antony.

l. 30. **Adolescentes.** Brutus and Cassius were both upwards of 40 years old, Brutus having been born in 85 B.C., and Cassius having been quaestor, and therefore at least 32, in 53 B.C. See on c. 21, 52.

l. 31. **Quam volent illi cedant**, 'let them retire as far as they will,' 'however far they shall retire.' Cp. de Div. 1. 26, 56 'Quam vellet cunctaretur, tamen eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset, esse pereundum.' This transitional usage, in which the verb, though still conjugated, has yet nearly the same force as the conjunction 'quamvis,' illustrates both the original meaning of that conjunction, 'in whatever degree,' 'however much,' and also the reason of its ordinary construction with the subjunctive. Similarly we find 'licebit' with nearly the force of 'licet' in its conjunctional use, in Hor. Epod. 15, 19 'Sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit,' 'you may be rich, for aught I care;' and Ov. Trist. 5. 14, 3 'Detrahat auctori multum fortuna licebit.'

l. 33. **Inter pacem**, &c. Cp. Livy 10. 17 'Petisse pacem (Samnites) a populo Romano, cum bellum tolerare non possent: rebellasse, quod pax servientibus gravior, quam liberis bellum, esset.'

P. 63. l. 7. **Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius.** See on c. 11, 26.

M. Manlius. See on 1. 13, 32.

l. 8. **Primum.** So Halm, following the Vatican MS., for 'primi.' He compares 9. 6, 13 'Statua . . . qualis L. Sullae primum statuta est;' and Cat. 3. 6, 15 'Quod mihi primum . . . togato contigit.'

l. 13. **Etsi enim satis**, &c. Cp. pro Mil. 35, 97 'Addit haec . . . fortes et sapientes viros non tam praemia sequi solere recte factorum, quam ipsa recte facta . . . sed tamen ex omnibus praemiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio praemiorum, amplissimum esse praemium gloriam.'

cc. 45, 46. *Finally, Cicero adjures him to return to better counsels, as the safest policy. Caesar was in every way a nobler man than Antony, his friends were personally devoted to him; yet he fell by the hands of those very friends, because he placed himself before the laws. Antony should take warning by his fate; his armed adherents would not long be faithful to him; the example of tyrannicide was fresh among the citizens; and Cicero himself would rather die to free the state from slavery than live when life had lost the sweetness which is only found in liberty.*

l. 16. **Igitur**, as with your present counsels you cannot long be safe.

Dictaturam sustulisti. See 1. 2, 4 note.

l. 18. **Cum hac immani nundinatione.** So Halm from the unintelligible reading of the Vatican MS., 'cum hac immanum latione.' Cp. c. 14, 35. Kayser adopts a conjecture of Jeep's: 'Cum hac immani mutatione.' The other MSS. have 'Cum nūmatione.'

l. 31. **Quosdam.** Notably C. Trebonius and L. Tillius Cimber; see c. 11, 27. M. Brutus and C. Cassius were bound to Caesar by the same obligation as Cicero to Antony, that he had spared their lives.

l. 33. **Ingenium, ratio,** 'genius and method.'

Memoria. Abrami compares pro Deiot. 15, 42 'Memoriam tuam implorat, qua vales plurimum.'

Litterae. Besides his histories, Caesar was famous as an orator. See Cic. Brut. 72, 252; Quint. 10. 1, 114 'C. Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur;' Tac. Ann. 13. 3 'Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus;' and he also wrote works on the Latin language (de Analogia), on the movements of the stars, and on the auspices.

P. 64. l. 4. **Muneribus,** sc. **gladiatoriis.** Especially a very splendid show on the occasion of his daughter's death; Suet. Jul. 26; cp. *ib.* 39.

Monumentis. The chief public buildings of Caesar were the Forum Iulium, to the north of the Forum Romanum, enclosing a temple of Venus Genitrix (Pliny N. H. 35. 12, 45); the Basilica Iulia (completed by Augustus), whose area, paved with precious marbles, has of late years been uncovered, on the south side of the Forum Romanum; and the Circus Maximus, which he extended to the dimensions of three stadia in length, and one in breadth, and completed with great magnificence (*ib.* 36. 15, 102).

Congiariis. The 'congius' being a liquid measure (holding about three quarts), 'congiaria' were strictly largesses of wine or oil, but the word was afterwards applied to presents of money: cp. Suet. Tib. 20 'Populo congiarium trecenos nummos viritim dedit.' Though generally used of presents to the people (id. Ner. 7 'Populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit'), yet Cicero applies it to a largess offered by

Antony to the legions from Macedonia (Att. 16. 8, 2 'Congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt').

l. 10. **Inusta,** 'whose brand he has indelibly impressed upon the state.' The term appears to combine the two notions of compulsory infliction, and indelible impression. So Cat. 1. 6, 13 'Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est?'

l. 12. **A quibus caveret,** 'against whom it should be on its guard.'

l. 18. **Respice,** &c. The Vatican reading is 'Respice quaeso ali quibus,' &c., with a small lacuna after 'ali,' too small, apparently, to leave room for the words in brackets, which are found in the other MSS.

l. 19. **Mecum, uti voles,** sc. 'be reconciled to me ('in gratiam redibis') or not as you will.' Abrami compares Livy 8. 35 'Mecum, ut voles, reverteris in gratiam.' The use of the future, where we less accurately use the present, is to be noticed, cp. c. 44, 113 'quam volent illi cedant.'

l. 24. **Repraesentari,** 'be *presently* secured.' Cp. Fam. 5. 16, 6 'Neque *exspectare* temporis medicinam, quam *repraesentare* ratione possimus.'

l. 26. **Abhinc annos viginti.** 'Abhinc' is used both with the accusative and ablative, according to Hand (Tursell. 1. 64), with no difference of meaning; but the double use in Cic. pro Rosc. Com. 13, 37 'abhinc annis xv.,' in the oratio obliqua, and in the next line 'repromittis abhinc triennium Roscio,' in the oratio recta, seems to favour the distinction drawn by Mr. Mayor, that with the accusative it means 'before *this* time,' with the ablative 'before *that* time.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 2. 52, 130 'Herodotus . . . offendit eum mensem qui consequitur mensem comitialem, comitiis iam abhinc diebus triginta factis.'

l. 30. **Quas adeptus sum,** &c., 'after the honours which I have attained, and the exploits which I have achieved.' The words in italics Halm thinks of very doubtful genuineness, both from their being added in the Vatican MS. by a later hand, and from the internal evidence of the singular expression 'res adeptus sum,' and the unclassical ring of 'duo modo haec opto.'

l. 33. **Cuique . . . quisque.** Cp., for the double 'quisque,' 3. 10, 24 'Ut, quae cuique apta esset, ea cuique obveniret.'

THE THIRD PHILIPPIC ORATION

c. 1. *Cicero urges on the senate that they should take instant action, instead of needlessly waiting for the* 1*st of January; a dangerous delay, when so unscrupulous an enemy was already actively engaged against the state.*

P. 68. l. 1. **Serius omnino,** &c. In 5. 11, 30 Cicero says that he began to press for the meeting of the senate 'ut primum post discessum latronis vel potius desperatam fugam libere haberi potuit.' Antony, however, had left the city on the 28th of November, and Cicero did not return to it till the 9th of December. The senate was summoned by the tribunes of the commons, who entered on office on the 10th, for the 20th of the same month, on which day Cicero delivered this oration.

l. 7. **In provinciam D. Bruti,** sc. Cisalpine Gaul. See Introduction.

l. 13. **Si nihil.** So Halm, from the Vatican reading, 'nihil.' Vulg. 'nisi.' The sentiment seems to be borrowed from Dem. Phil. 1. p. 50, 24 *τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν.*

l. 14. **Sacrificiis** is Halm's emendation for the Vatican reading, 'sacrificii sic consiliis.' The other MSS. have 'sacrificii sic consilii.'

l. 17. **Fugit.** Cp. 5. 11, 30, quoted above on § 1.

l. 20. **Consules designatos.** Aulus Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, who were to enter office on the 1st of January 43 B.C.

cc. 2, 3. *C. Caesar, on his own responsibility, and at his own expense, had saved the state, by gaining over the legions at Brundisium, which Antony had hoped to have as instruments of his cruelty, that he might overwhelm the citizens of Rome, as he had murdered the centurions at Brundisium. To C. Caesar therefore, and the soldiers who had shown their patriotism by deserting Antony, thanks, honours, and the confirmation of their deeds were due from the senate.*

P. 69. l. 5. **Quo enim usque.** For the division of the adverb, cp. Mart. 2. 64, 9 'Eia age, rumpe moras, quo te sperabimus usque?'

l. 6. **Privatis consiliis,** by the irregular proceedings of Octavianus, which he goes on to describe, and the unauthorized resistance of Dec. Brutus (see c. 4, 8); for both of which thanks are proposed by Cicero in the formal vote which closes this oration.

l. 7. **Adolescens.** Octavianus was at this time eighteen years of age.

l. 11. **Ne optantibus quidem.** The Vatican MS. reads 'nec optantibus quidem;' but Madvig (on Cic. Fin. Excursus 3. p. 822 foll.) shows

that the expression 'ne . . . quidem' in writers of this age never absorbs into itself the copulative conjunction.

l. 13. **Patrimonium . . . effudit.** Octavianus expended, or rather *invested*, 'collocavit,' his private means in giving the veterans 500 denarii apiece. Cp. Att. 16. 8, 1 'Veteranos, quiqui Casilini et Calatiae sunt, perduxit ad suam sententiam. Nec mirum: quingenos denarios dat.'

l. 19. **Si M. Antonius,** &c. Cp. Fam. 10. 28, 3 'Certum habeto, nisi ille' (sc. puer Caesar) 'veteranos celeriter conscripsisset legionesque duae de exercitu Antonii ad eius se auctoritatem contulissent, atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium sceleris nihil crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse.'

l. 23. **Fortissimos viros.** 'Martiae legionis centuriones' 13. 8, 18. The massacre however was not confined to the centurions, unless Cicero in c. 4, 10 of this oration exaggerates the number ('Brundisii ad trecentos fortissimos viros civesque optimos trucidavit'), as there were only 60 centurions to a legion. Cp. also 5. 8, 22.

l. 25. **Bonis omnibus.** So the Vatican MS. Halm, following an early conjecture, reads 'nobis,' as agreeing better with the context. The other MSS. have 'bonis hominibus.'

l. 28. **Privato consilio,** 'on his own responsibility.'

l. 29. **Caesar.** So henceforward Cicero designates Octavianus.

P. 70. l. 3. **Ut rem publicam,** &c., 'that he may assume the defence of the state, not merely as an office voluntarily taken on himself, but as a charge entrusted to him by the senate.'

l. 12. **Consedit Albae,** at Alba Longa, on the east shore of the Alban Lake, and only fourteen miles from Rome. It was the news of this occupation of Alba that had induced Antony hurriedly to leave the city (see on c. 1, 1). When he found that he could not shake the resolution of the Martian legion, he retired to Tibur, and thence proceeded towards Cisalpine Gaul.

l. 14. **Fortium . . . amicorum.** This is the reading of the Vatican MS., defended (though not adopted) by Wernsdorf, who shows that Cicero's meaning probably is 'what city that contains either brave men or friendly citizens could have been found either more convenient or more to be depended on?' Bravery and good feeling towards Rome were necessary conditions in the citizens of the place which they should occupy;—of the cities which exhibited these the veterans might choose the most convenient. Halm adopts the reading of the Junta edition (1515), which is slightly altered from the other MSS., 'aut fortiorum virorum aut amiciorum.' This however has evidently arisen from not distinguishing the independence of the two pairs of 'aut . . . aut.'

l. 16. **Civi.** So the Vatican MS. here, and 5. 19, 52, and the other

MSS. in c. 15, 39. Priscian, 7. 13, 68, brings several passages (e.g. pro Sest. 12, 12 'quod ausus esset pro civi, pro bene merito civi') to prove that this form of the ablative is used by Cicero.

l. 17. **Persecuta est,** 'attached itself to the army under C. Caesar's command.'

l. 18. **Ea . . . haec.** For this redundant use of 'haec,' to recall emphatically to mind the subject which had been separated from its verb by an intervening relative clause, cp. 7. 5, 15 'cogitatis *eum*, qui Mutinam, coloniam populi Romani firmissimam, oppugnarit . . . *hunc* in eum ordinem recipi;' and contrariwise de Orat. 2, 28, 125 '*haec* ipsa, quae nunc ad me delegare vis, *ea* semper in te eximia fuerunt.' See Madv. 9 a.

c. 4. *More recently Decimus Brutus, following the example of his ancestor, who drove out a king for merely being proud, had published an edict, maintaining the liberty and authority of the state, menaced now by Antony, who in wickedness, arbitrary self-assumption, and contempt of all religion, in meanness, cruelty, and disloyalty, went beyond the worst that any man had ventured to assert of Tarquin.*

l. 32. **Edictum D. Bruti.** Cicero tells Decimus Brutus himself (Fam. 11. 6, 2) that the sight of this edict was what induced him to come into the senate on the day when this oration was delivered: 'Nefas esse duxi aut ita haberi senatum, ut de tuis divinis in rempublicam meritis sileretur—quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem—aut, etiam si quid de te honorifice diceretur, me non adesse.'

P. 71. l. 1. In potestate. So Halm, following the Vatican MS. Orelli, from the other MSS., reads 'in potestatem,' a construction which is found after 'esse' and 'habere' in a few legal and political expressions: cp. Div. in Q. Caec. 20, 66 'quae in amicitiam populi Romani dicionemque essent.' See Madv., § 230, Obs. 2.

l. 3. **Imitatorem maiorum.** See 1. 6, 13 note.

Neque enim Tarquinio, &c., 'nor indeed was the desire of our ancestors to gain liberty on the expulsion of Tarquinius so great as should be our desire to retain it by throwing off the yoke of Antony.'

l. 8. **Non crudelis.** Yet cp. Livy 1. 49 'Metu regnum tutandum esset: quem ut pluribus incuteret . . . occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset.'

l. 12. **Sceleratum atque impium regnare,** 'to play the part of a king both impious and wicked.'

l. 15. **Barbari armati.** See 2. 8, 19 note.

l. 18. **Collega una ferente,** 'proposing them in conjunction with Dolabella, whose election he had nullified.' See on 2. 33, 82.

l. 19. **Tam insignite impudens,** 'so egregiously devoid of shame.'

l. 21. **Immunitatem.** See on 1. 1, 3.

l. 23. **Nihil humile,** &c. Of the value of such commendation from the mouth of Cicero we may judge from a comparison of 1. 13, 33, where he uses exactly the same expressions of Antony: 'nihil umquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi.'

l. 24. **Inter quasilla.** 'Domesticis nundinis,' 2. 36, 92; 'in gynaecio,' *ib.* 37, 95. 'Quasillum' (whence the contracted form 'quālum') is especially used of women's spinning baskets; cp. Prop. 5. 7, 41 'Et graviora rependit iniquis pensa quasillis.'

l. 28. **Suessae.** Cp. 4. 2, 4; 13. 8, 18. This massacre seems to have taken place when Antony was on his way to Brundisium.

l. 29. **Ad trecentos.** See on c. 2, 4.

l. 30. **Pro populo Romano.** Against the Rutulians of Ardea. Livy 1. 57.

P. 72. l. 1. **Vota nuncupavit,** 'uttered solemn vows.' 'Vota nuncupata' were those which Consuls and praetors made in solemn form, on their departure for their provinces; and they were generally registered in the presence of many witnesses. Cp. Livy 41. 10 'Cum consul more maiorum, secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata, paludatus profectus ab Urbe esset.'

l. 2. **Quae numquam solveret,** 'which he was never doomed to pay;' i.e. Cicero expresses his belief that Antony's prayers would not be granted, and that so he would not be obliged to pay his vows; as in the case of Pallas, 'nil iam caelestibus ullis debentem' Virg. Aen. 11. 51.

In provinciam . . . invadere, 'to usurp by force.' Cp. 11. 2, 4 'In Galliam invasit Antonius, in Asiam Dolabella, in alienam uterque provinciam.'

c. 5. *It was true that he was nominally Consul, but on this score he had forfeited all right, by offering to become the slave of Caesar, in the hope that he might one day emulate his despotism. Therefore the senate ought to honour Brutus for resisting him, and with Brutus all Cisalpine Gaul, which had come forward with the utmost unanimity to defend the authority of that senate, which had now met to take measures for its own protection.*

l. 7. **Intolerabilis.** So Halm, from almost all the MSS. 'Servitus' is easily supplied from the preceding clause. Vulg. 'intolerabile.'

l. 9. **Privato consilio.** Cp. c. 1, 3 note.

l. 13. **Lupercalia.** See 2. 34, 84 note.

l. 15. **Id egit ut imponeret,** 'used every effort to crown his colleague.' So 2. 34, 85 'imponebas,' 'again and again you tried to crown him.'

l. 23. **Ille flos Italiae.** For this attraction of the demonstrative out of the gender of the noun which it represents into that of the predicate

cp. Virg. Aen. 7, 4 'si qua est ea gloria;' *ib.* 10. 828 'si qua est ea cura.' A similar usage is also found in Greek, as Aesch. Prom. 754 *αὕτη γὰρ* (sc. *τὸ θανεῖν*) *ἦν ἂν πημάτων ἀπαλλαγή*. See Madv. § 313; and Riddell on Plat. Apol. p. 195.

l. 25. **Municipiorum coloniarumque.** By the 'Lex Iulia,' passed in the consulship of L. Iulius Caesar, 90 B.C., all the allied towns in Italy and Gallia Cispadana received the Roman 'civitas,' and became 'municipia.' In 49 B.C. the dictator Caesar extended this privilege to the 'transpadani,' so that it is not easy to see what distinction is here implied between 'municipia' and 'coloniae.' Most probably by 'coloniae' he means to distinguish those cities which were 'coloniae' before they became 'municipia,' and which perhaps retained a larger share of local self-government than the older 'municipia' possessed, as in the oration pro Sest. 14, 32, he preserves the old distinctions: 'nullum erat Italiae municipium, nulla colonia, nulla praefectura, . . . quod non tum honorificentissime de mea salute decrevisset.' Cp. Phil. 4. 3, 7 'municipia, colonias, praefecturas,' and 2. 24, 58. So a 'Lex Municipalis' found near Heraclea, probably of the year 45 B.C., contains provisions for the constitutions of the various 'municipia, *coloniae, praefecturae*, fora, conciliabula civium Romanorum.' In Phil. 13. 8, 18 he clearly marks the change which the Lex Iulia had made in the status of 'coloniae.' For the whole subject see Mr. Watson's 'Letters of Cicero,' Append. xii.

l. 30. **Rettulistis**, 'brought forward a motion.' See on 1. 1, 2.

cc. 6, 7. *The honours paid to Brutus and to Gaul would render it imperative to treat Antony as a public enemy, since otherwise they must be rebels against the highest lawfully constituted authority. But he had further shown himself unworthy of his office, by the insulting language of his edicts, in which he found fault with C. Caesar for profligacy peculiar to himself; and reproached him with an origin which many noble senators were proud to claim, and which at least was not inferior to his own. He had even gone out of his way to accuse Cicero's nephew of having meditated parricide, not seeing that his abuse is really praise, just as in his attacks on Cicero himself he never knew whether he was eulogizing or injuring him.*

P. 73. l. 8. **Fustuarium**, 'cudgelling to death,' a military punishment described by Polybius, 6. 35. It was the punishment for deserters, cp. Livy 5. 6 'Fustuarium meretur, qui signa relinquit, aut praesidio recedit.' It must be distinguished both from the 'flagellatio servorum,' and the lighter 'fustium animadversio' to which free civilians were liable.

l. 13. **Persequantur.** So Halm, from the Vatican MS. for the ordinary reading 'persequuntur.' The subjunctive seems to be required,

as conveying the description of the men who were considered patriots. 'When, if any men pursue him under arms, they are thought to be the saviours of their country.'

l. 20. **Qui male dicit.** So Halm, from the original reading of the Vatican MS., 'qui maledict.' A corrected reading, followed by the other MS., is 'maledico.'

l. 21. **Natura pater.** Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 69, 162 'Si est tuus natura filius.' C. Octavius, the father of Octavianus, died when he was only four years old, 58 B.C. He was praetor 61 B.C., which itself secured Octavianus from the reproach of 'ignobilitas,' even if he could not claim to inherit the honours of his adoptive father, all being 'nobiles,' by any of whose ancestors any curule magistracy had been held. C. Octavius had just returned to Rome before his death, to be a candidate for the consulship.

l. 22. **Aricina mater**, of Aricia, a Latin town, only 16 miles from Rome (cp. Hor. S. 1. 5, 1; Juv. 4. 117), which had gained the full Roman franchise so early as 340 B.C., at the close of the great Latin war; and was therefore not deserving of such contemptuous mention, as though it had been a barbarous Asiatic town, like Ephesus or Tralles.

l. 23. **Omnes qui sumus**: Cicero himself being but a 'municipalis' of Arpinum.

l. 24. **Quotus quisque**, 'one in every how many?' and so 'how few among the whole of us can boast a different origin?'

l. 26. **Iure foederatum**, 'whose privileges are secured by treaty, not merely granted as favours.'

l. 28. **Hinc Voconiae hinc Atiniae leges.** These laws are mentioned together also in Verr. Act. 1. 42, 109. The 'Lex Voconia de Hereditatibus' was proposed by Q. Voconius Saxa, 169 B.C. Its principal provision was 'ne quis heredem mulierem institueret:' Livy Epit. 41. There were two 'Leges Atiniae,' one 'de rebus furtivis,' passed in 197 B.C., the other probably about 130 B.C., giving senatorial rank to the tribunes of the commons. It is only from this passage that we know that the proposers of any of these laws were natives of Aricia.

l. 31. **Tusculanam.** M. Fulvius Bambalio (see on 2. 36, 90) being apparently a Tusculan.

l. 33. **Praetorius.** He was praetor in 62 B.C., and obtained the province of Sardinia.

P. 74. l. 2. **Homo nullo numero.** See on 2. 29, 71.

l. 4. **Tuditanus.** Of Tuditanus we know only what is mentioned in the text. He is quoted by Val. Max. (7. 8, 1) as a notorious madman, but he grounds the fact of his madness on the same story.

l. 5. **Cum palla et cothurnis**, 'in full tragic costume.'

l. 8. **Iulia natus.** So the Vatican MS., though 'natus' nowhere else seems to be used in the sense of 'prognatus.' Hence we have various conjectures: 'Iuliae filia natus,' 'Iuliae nepos,' 'Iuliae nata,' &c. The other MSS. have 'Aricina,' which is inappropriate, as the point of Cicero's argument is that Octavianus only shared with Antony the honour of being sprung from a Julia.

l. 11. **Numitoria** was the first wife of M. Antonius Creticus. Her father, Q. Numitorius Pullus, betrayed his native town to the Romans under L. Opimius, 125 B.C.

l. 12. **Ex libertini filia, Fadia.** See 2. 2, 3 note.

l. 13. **L. Philippus** married Atia herself, after the death of C. Octavius.

l. 14. **C. Marcellus** married her daughter Octavia, afterwards the wife of Antony himself.

l. 16. **Compellat,** 'abuses;' cp. Att. 2. 2, 3 'Nigidium minari in contione se iudicem compellaturum esse.'

l. 21. **Hunc de patris,** &c. By betraying to Caesar their intention of leaving Italy, 49 B.C. Cicero himself laments over the same story of his nephew in a letter to Atticus (10. 4, 6), and though he afterwards had reason to believe the story false (*ib.* 7, 4), yet even then he charges his nephew with excessive avarice, and a little later with arrogance and insolence; while two years afterwards (47 B.C.) he tells Atticus that he has heard that the young man had been expressing himself in madly hostile terms against him (Att. 11. 10, 1).

l. 27. **Laedat an laudet,** 'whether he is tending to my hurt or to my praise.' The antithesis, as explained in the concluding sentence of the chapter, is less direct than the similarity of sound would lead one to expect, especially as 'laedo' is sometimes used as the contrary of 'laudo,' in the sense of 'to upbraid;' cp. pro Font. 15, 35 'cum laedat nemo bonus, laudent omnes vestri cives atque socii.'

l. 30. **Refricat,** 'excites afresh;' the metaphor being taken from chafing an old wound; cp. de Leg. Agr. 3. 2, 4 'Refricare obductam reipublicae cicatricem.' The allusion is to the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

c. 8. *With similar inconsistency he issued a proclamation, aimed especially at Cicero, requiring all senators, under pain of being held guilty of treason, to attend a meeting on the 24th of November, and when the day came, he was himself absent at a disorderly feast. And on the 28th, when he once more convened the senate, expressly to impea C. Caesar, he dared not carry out his shameful project, even though by dropping it he convicted himself.*

l. 32. **Posuisset.** I have restored the reading of all the MSS. here,

because although 'proponere' would be more in accordance with usage, yet there is sufficient authority for this use of 'ponere' in such expressions as 'tabulas in publico ponere' (pro Flacc. 9, 21).

P. 75. l. 5. **Quae pertineant,** '*such as* relate to the recovery of our liberty.' So Halm, from the corrupt Vatican reading 'pertitnenat.' Vulg. 'pertinent'; but it is not individual counsels, but the kind of counsel, that Cicero is specifying.

l. 8. **Currentem incitavi,** 'I spurred the willing horse.' In Fam. 12. 23, 2 Cicero speaks of the alleged attempt on Antony's life as one which 'prudentes viri et credunt factum et probant.'

l. 10. **Eo.** See on 2. 22, 53.

Optimi cuiusque. See on 1. 12, 29.

l. 14. **Retentus.** Sc. 'non adfuit.' Some MSS. unnecessarily add 'est.'

l. 15. **Diem obire.** As we say, 'to meet his engagement.' Cp. Att. 13. 14, 1 'Obire auctionis diem facile potuerunt.'

In ante diem. The expression 'ante diem quartum Kalendas' (itself attracted from the proper construction 'die quarto ante Kalendas') came to be looked on so completely as a single term, as to be combined with other prepositions. Cp. Att. 3. 17, 1 'Nec varii (nuntii) venerant ex ante diem Non. Iun. usque ad prid. Kal. Sext.;' Livy 43. 16 'In ante dies octavum et septimum Kal. Oct.' The expression can even be used as the predicate of a sentence, Cic. Cat. 1. 3, 7 'Qui dies futurus esset ante diem sextum Kal. Nov.' See Hand's Tursellinus, 1. 378 foll.

l. 17. **Gallorum cuniculum.** Cp. pro Caec. 30, 88 'Non eos in cuniculum, qua aggressi erant, sed in Capitolium restitui oporteret.' The account given by Livy of the attempt upon the Capitol by the Gauls not only makes no mention of any mine, but is incompatible with the idea of one. See Livy 5. 47.

l. 23. **Scriptam.** See on 1. 1, 3.

l. 24. **Quid est aliud . . . iudicare.** In most MSS. the words 'nisi se ipsum hostem iudicare' immediately follow 'quid est aliud,' but the order in the text is not only that of the Vatican MS., but also that most in accordance with Cicero's usage. Cp. Cat. Ma. 2, 5 'Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?'

l. 28. **Referat,** 'why was he to make no proposal?' So the Vatican MS. Halm 'referebat;' vulg. 'refert.' For the use of the subjunctive, see Madv. § 353.

l. 29. **A senatu.** This rare construction with the gerundive, showing that it had come to be looked upon as a passive form, seems mainly to occur when there is already a dative depending on it in another relation. Cp. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 2, 6 'Quibus est a vobis consulendum.' See, however, *ib.* 12, 34 'Haec a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt.'

l. 31. **Spartacum.** Spartacus, by birth a Thracian, was leader of the gladiators in the Servile war, 73–71 B.C. In 4. 6, 14 Cicero calls Antony himself a 'Spartacus,' as the climax of all that was atrocious.

c. 9. *His very language was barbarous and unintelligible, though this was a trifle compared with his outrageous conduct towards most virtuous and loyal citizens. His ultimate departure was marked by a combination of panic and disorder, equally unworthy of a Consul; when on hearing of the defection of his soldiers he took a hurried division on the popular question of a 'supplicatio' for Lepidus, and fled in panic from the city.*

P. 76. l. 3. **Quid est dignus?** Cicero's argument is that 'dignus' used absolutely is not Latin, and if it meant anything, would probably mean 'a man of worth.' Consequently insult proceeding from 'dignus' would be the worst of all, as being probably well deserved. Antony probably meant 'contumelia dignus,' a man himself deserving to be insulted; so that his fault in Latinity consists only in a rather obscure ellipsis.

l. 6. **Quis sic loquitur?** The expression, if not classical in Cicero's time, was used before him by Plautus, Asin. 2. 4, 82 'Tu contumeliam alteri facias, tibi non dicatur?' and Terence, Eun. 5. 2, 26 'Nam etsi ego digna hac contumelia sum maxime, at tu indignus qui faceres tamen;' and in later times by Seneca. It is curious that Quintilian, remarking on the change of usage, whereby 'facere contumeliam' had become classical in his day, seems to understand it as meaning 'to suffer insult,' like 'iacturam facere;' Inst. 9. 3, 13 'Ut nunc evaluit . . . contumeliam fecit, quod a Cicerone reprehendi notum est: *affici* enim *contumelia* dicebant;' so that some commentators have thought that Cicero is objecting to Antony using the expression in so unusual a sense.

l. 7. **Quem denuntiat inimicus,** 'which arises from the threatening of an enemy;' cp. Att. 2. 23, 3 'Non mediocres terrores iacere atque denuntiare.'

l. 10. **Magister.** Sext. Clodius of Leontini. See 2. 17, 42 and 43; *ib.* 39, 101 notes.

l. 11. **Ex oratore arator,** 'has left the platform for the plough.'

l. 15. **L. Cassio . . . D. Carfulenum . . . Ti. Canutium.** See on 1. 15, 36. L. Cassius was reconciled to Antony after the battle of Philippi, but Carfulenus fell in the battle before Mutina, in which Antony was defeated, April 15, 43 B.C., and Canutius was killed by Octavianus, after the capture of Perusia, 40 B.C.

l. 21. **Intercederent,** 'oppose their tribunicial veto.'

l. 22. **M. Lepidi,** afterwards the triumvir. Antony had sent him to Spain to effect a reconciliation with Sex. Pompeius, and for his success in this mission the senate granted him a 'supplicatio.' See on 1. 6, 13.

The terms of the reconciliation were that Pompey should be allowed to return to Rome, and receive compensation for the loss of his father's property.

l. 28. **Per discessionem.** The usual mode of taking the votes in the Roman senate consisted in the Consuls asking each man severally how he wished to vote. On being asked his vote he had the right to speak, and so we find most of Cicero's speeches in the senate ending with a formal declaration of his vote. Where the opinion of the house, however, was very decided, so that there was nothing to be gained by listening to the speeches of all the senators, it was not unusual for the majority, with the permission of the Consuls, to group themselves round one of the speakers on their side during his speech, and so to show in favour of which side the decision was. This was called 'discessio,' and the senators were said 'discedere,' or 'pedibus ire in sententiam illorum quorum sententiae assentirentur.' In the case of the decree for a 'supplicatio,' the strangeness of a 'discessio' is obvious, since it took away all opportunity of panegyric.

cc. 10, 11. *From that day forth all had gone well in Rome. The magistrates were showing energy befitting the occasion; even Antony's friends had given up the provinces which fortune had assigned them so marvellously in accordance with their wishes; by the loyalty and judgment of C. Caesar the wolf had been driven from the gate of the fold, and the Roman people, well rid of so profligate a tyrant, could once more take measures to secure the freedom which Cicero had ever laboured to maintain.*

l. 29. **Paludati,** 'wearing the general's cloak,' the symbol of military command, formally assumed by the Consul on setting out for a campaign, and as formally laid aside before he could re-enter the city. Cp. 5, 9, 24.

l. 31. **Praeclara senatus consulta,** &c, The irony is to be noticed throughout. The decrees were not only not marvellous, but actually illegal, being passed after sunset (see Sen. Dial. 9. 17, 7 'Maiores nostri novam relationem post horam decimam in senatu fieri vetabant'); the allotment of the provinces was managed in defiance of all the sanctions of religion; and the interference of heaven had never before shown so happy a disposition of the lots as that each person should gain exactly what he wished.

l. 33. **Cuique . . . cuique.** See 2. 46, 119 note.

P. 77. l. 3. **Et agere et habere,** 'both to express and feel gratitude.'

l. 4. **Periculo carere.** So the Vatican MS. The rest have 'carere metu et periculo,' perhaps borrowed from 7. 9, 27. Cp. c. 8, 20 'ut turpe senatori esset nihil timere.'

l. 5. **Afflictus,** 'overwhelmed with wickedness.' This use of the

word is seemingly without a parallel, though in almost every other sense of 'perditus' it is common to find 'afflictus' combined with it by Cicero.

l. 7. **L. Lentulus** had been the accuser of A. Gabinius, on the charge of 'maiestas,' in 54 B.C., when he was suspected of 'praevaricatio.' See on 2. 11, 25. Of Naso nothing further is known.

10. **L. Philippus**, probably the son of Octavianus' stepfather, who was Consul in 56 B.C., and grandson of the famous orator, distinguished by Horace, Epp. 1. 7, 46, as 'Strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis Clarus.'

l. 12. **C. Turranius.** Of Turranius and the following three nothing else is known.

l. 16. **L. Cinna** was praetor at the time of Caesar's death, and so far identified himself with the conspirators, as to incur the enmity of the mob exasperated by Antony, so that they murdered Helvius Cinna in mistake for him.

l. 18. **Minus admirabilem,** &c., 'makes us wonder less at it.'

l. 20. **Qui sunt igitur reliqui,** &c., 'whom have we then remaining, to testify by their delight the interference of heaven in the lots?'

l. 21. **L. Annius.** Perhaps L. Annius Bellienus, whose house was burnt after Caesar's death. The name however is doubtful. Some MSS. have T. Antonius, which Orelli thinks is a mistake for L. Antonius, but he was tribune of the commons at the time.

l. 22. **M. Antonius.** It seems strange that his name should occur in the allotment, as Gaul had been assigned to him by a law, passed indeed with violence (Livy Epit. 117), and therefore ignored by Cicero (see on c. 4. 11), but still superseding the necessity of any share in the 'sortitio.' Some commentators have supposed that there is an error in his name also.

l. 23. **C. Antonius**, the second of the three brothers, fell into the hands of M. Brutus, in trying to maintain his province, and by him was put to death in 42 B.C.

Hunc quoque felicem. For the accusative in an exclamation, without an interjection, cp. pro Cael. 26, 63 'In balneis delituerunt: testes egregios.'

l. 25. **Africam.** This was at present held by Q. Cornificius, a friend of Cicero, who was commissioned, with the other governors of provinces, by the decree passed in the senate on the day of this speech, to hold his province against Calvisius Sabinus, or any successor not sanctioned by the senate, 'quoad ex senatus consulto cuique eorum successum sit,' c. 15, 38; cp. Fam. 12. 22, and 23; Att. 12. 14.

l. 27. **M. Cusini Sicilia.** So the Vatican MS. Orelli reads 'M. Iccius Siciliam, Q. Cassius Hispaniam,' from very confused readings of

the inferior MSS. Some error probably underlies the name of 'Cusinus,' as we nowhere hear of such a man. Cicero's argument is that here the hand of heaven is less visible, since two of Antony's opponents had obtained these provinces. Q. Cassius was probably son of the Q. Cassius whom Cicero, Att. 5. 21, 2, calls 'frater' (probably cousin) of C. Cassius the tyrannicide.

l. 30. **Quam tu salutem.** The tone of all this passage is much more confident than that which Cicero adopts in a letter of this date to Q. Cornificius. See Fam. 12, 22; and Mr. Watson's note.

l. 31. **Fecit.** So the Vatican MS. The others have 'fecerit,' expressing not only the fact, but the character of the man who could have taken such measures in the midst of flight. The subjunctive, however, though expressive, is not necessary.

P. 78. l. 1. **Custodem ovium.** The proverb is as old as Herodotus, 4. 149 ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν ὄϊν ἐν λύκοισι. Cp. Plaut. Pseud. 1. 2, 8

'Hoc eorum opust: ut lupos mavelis
Apud oves linquere, quam hos custodes domi.'

l. 3. **Introiturum exiturumque.** When a general had once left the city, he could not re-enter it without laying down his 'imperium.' It was one of the charges against Verres, 'quod, cum paludatus exisset, votaque . . . nuncupasset, noctu lectica in urbem introferri solitus est' Verr. Act. 2. 5. 13, 34. See on 1. 2, 6.

l. 5. **Victurum.** Cp. 4. 5, 12 'Agitur enim non qua condicione victuri, sed victurine simus an cum supplicio ignominiaque perituri.' The epigrammatic turning of the sentence, arising from the identity in form of the participles of 'vivo' and 'vinco,' is untranslatable.

l. 6. **In possessionem.** The ablative would have been more in accordance with Cicero's usage, cp. pro Caec. 11, 31 'Si in fundo pedem posuisses;' pro Lig. 8, 24 'In provincia pedem ponere.' Ferrarius quotes two passages in which the accusative is used after 'vestigium ponere, facere' (de Fin. 5. 2, 5; pro Caec. 14, 39), but in both of these the best MSS. have the ablative.

l. 8. **Conservator fui.** Up to the time of Caesar's usurpation.

Cum non possem, 'on ceasing to be able,' the subjunctive marking that his rest was both subsequent to, and consequent on, his loss of power.

l. 11. **Beluam.** Cp. 8. 4, 13 'Quid te facturum de belua putas?'

l. 14. **Pudens, pudicum.** For the distinction, see 2. 7, 15 note.

l. 18. **Propriam.** Cp. 6. 7, 19 'Aliae nationes servitutem pati possunt, populi Romani est propria libertas.'

l. 24. **Quae tamen ipsa,** &c., 'though even these we found at length too much to bear.' Even Caesar's power fell at last before the Roman passion for liberty.

cc. 12-14. *Recapitulating the crimes which Antony had committed since the death of Caesar, and showing how, with his brother Lucius, he was carrying on the same mad career of wanton cruelty in Gaul, Cicero calls upon the senate not to lose the opportunity, but with the Roman people eager to support them, himself ever ready with his counsels, and C. Caesar and Brutus in the field, to choose the wise and energetic course of crushing Antony while he was entangled on every side in Gaul. They should be prepared for death rather than slavery, though with such new Consuls as Hirtius and Pansa, there could be but little doubt of their soon securing the freedom which was a Roman's birthright.*

l. 30. **Compilaverit**, 'has stripped *whole* villas of their decorations?' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4. 24, 53 'Qui uno imperio ostiatim totum oppidum compilaverit.'

l. 31. **Caedis**, &c., 'has sought to find in the celebration of a funeral a pretext for murder and incendiarism?' See on 1. 2, 5.

l. 32. **Senatus consultis.** See 1. 1, 3 notes.

P. 79. l. 1. **Liberaverit**, 'has freed from paying tribute?' See 2. 36, 92 note; and for the use of the word cp. de Prov. Cons. 5, 10 'Vectigales multos ac stipendiarios liberavit.'

l. 3. **Exsules.** See 2. 23, 56.

l. 5. **Domesticum mercatum.** See on 2. 14, 35.

l. 8. **Armatis.** Madvig (in a letter to Halm) says that he thinks this reading has crept in from its not being observed that 'armis et praesidiis' belongs to 'stiparit,' as well as to 'excluserit.' The word suggests a false antithesis between 'armis et praesidiis,' and 'armatis,' and might easily have been borrowed from the following 'armatos.' I have therefore followed Halm in placing it between brackets.

l. 9. **Haberet, incluserit**, '*has been in the habit* of placing armed men *on the several occasions when* he convened the senate?'

l. 11. **Dispersionem**, 'the breaking up of our city.' So the Vatican MS. If this word is right (other readings being 'disperditionem' and dispertitionem'), it may be compared with the Greek *ἀνάστασις*, the dispersion and removal of the citizens in either case implying the ruin of the city.

l. 13. **Ne fortuna quidem**, &c., 'showed no diminution of his rashness even under fortune's frown.'

l. 16. **Cum una legione.** Yet see on c. 2, 4.

Vaccillante. I have restored this reading from the Vatican MS., on the authority of Nonius, p. 34. Cp. Munro on Lucr. 3. 504, apparently the only passage in poetry where the first syllable is long. He says that this spelling would confirm its derivation from the waddling gait of the 'vacca.' Halm reads 'vacillante.'

l. 18. **Myrmillone.** Cp. 5. 7, 20; 7. 6, 17. The 'myrmillo' fought in Gallic arms, with a fish ('mormyr') for his crest. He usually was the antagonist of a 'Thrax,' or of a 'retiarius.'

Effecit. The Vatican MS. has 'effecerit,' whence Halm thinks it probable that after 'vestigium' some such clause as 'quis vestrum ignorat' has fallen out. This is the more likely from the fact that the words 'fundit apothecas' are also not to be found in any of the MSS., being restored from a quotation by Servius, on Virg. E. 6. 55.

l. 19. **Apothecas.** See on 2. 27, 67.

l. 20. **Armentorum,** &c., 'of cattle, and any *smaller* beasts that he could lay his hands upon.'

l. 27. **Conspirante,** 'joining together heart and soul.'

l. 32. **Numen,** 'the prestige.' Cp. Post Red. ad Quir. 10, 25 'Cum vobis, qui apud me deorum immortalium vim et numen tenetis;' pro Mil. 30, 83 'Qui nullam vim esse ducit numenve divinum.'

P. 80. l. 4. **Invehens.** In the speech, delivered on the 19th of September, which provoked the second Philippic.

l. 6. **Caedis,** &c. Cp. 5. 7, 20.

l. 7. **Hanc vero,** &c., 'now that this opportunity is given me, be assured, senators, that I will not let a moment pass, by day or by night, without making the liberty of the Roman people and your honour the subject of my thoughts where thought is required; while, where deed and action are needed, so far from shrinking, I will strive, even with importunity, to make that deed and action mine.'

l. 13. **Dum licuit,** 'as long as ever I could.' See Madv. § 336. Obs. 2.

l. 18. **Erat.** So Halm from his own conjecture. Most MSS. omit the verb. Orelli, following two MSS., reads 'esset.'

l. 25. **Si indormierimus,** 'if we let this time pass by in sleep.'

l. 26. **Crudelem superbamque,** 'marked with cruelty and pride,' the latter epithet probably referring to the reign of Tarquin (see above, c. 4, 9), the former to the tyrannies of Cinna, Sulla, and Caesar, cp. 2. 42, 108. To submit to such rule as this was a sign of weakness, but it did not involve disgrace and infamy.

l. 33. **Ut honeste decumbant.** Cp. Tusc. 2. 17, 41 'Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit? quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter?'

Faciamus ut, &c., 'let us take care to fall with dignity rather than submit to the disgrace of slavery.' For this periphrastic use of 'facere ut,' to add length and weight to an apodosis, see Zumpt, §§ 619, 816. It seems to be especially used with an epexegetic clause, explaining more particularly what has been generally expressed before as the direct object of the verb. Cp. 6. 3, 5, and 4. 5, 11.

P. 81. l. 6. **Quid sentiat, quid velit.** So the Vatican MS., 'quisque' being apparently understood from the collective 'omnes.' Halm follows the ordinary reading 'sentiant,' 'velint.'

l. 7. **Sed** really opposes **admodum pauci** to **sunt impii cives; pro caritate reipublicae nimium multi** being parenthetical. 'Disloyal citizens exist, it is true, but, though more than in one's love for the state one would desire, yet they are but few against the multitude of well-affected.'

l. 16. **Iucundiorem,** &c. Muretus compares Eur. fragm. Andr. 144 *ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνῆσθαι πόνων.*

c. 15. *Cicero concludes the oration with his formal vote, that the new Consuls should provide for the safe meeting of the senate on the 1st of January; that thanks should be given to Decimus Brutus, C. Caesar, and the forces under their command; and that the existing provincial governors should hold their appointments till successors were duly chosen by the senate.*

l. 18. **Verba fecerunt,** &c., 'have opened this debate in order to enable the senate to meet in safety.' There is an apparent difficulty in the difference of mood between **quod . . . verba fecerunt,** and **quod . . . propositum sit**: but the former clause is antecedent to the motion, giving Cicero's reason for proposing it at all; whereas the latter is an integral part of the proposal, and probably depends, as Mr. Watson has pointed out to me, directly on **senatum existimare.** A further distinction is to be noticed between the two constructions after censeo; **uti . . . dent operam,** of a measure to be practically carried into effect, and **senatum existimare** of a mere expression of opinion in regard to what had already taken place.

l. 20. **Ita censeo.** With these words begins his formal vote; see on c. 9, 24; and cp. 1. 7, 16 note.

l. 24. **Consulem designatum.** D. Brutus and L. Plancus were nominated by Caesar to the consulship for 42 B.C., in succession to C. Pansa and Aul. Hirtius.

l. 30. **Municipia, colonias.** See on c. 5, 13.

l. 33. **Qui provincias obtinent.** See c. 10, 26 note.

P. 82. l. 3. **Senati.** So the Vatican MS. F. Ritschl (Rhein. Mus. for 1853, p. 495) quotes in favour of this form Divin. in Caec. 5, 19 'Beneficio senati populique Romani;' where it rests on the authority of Charisius; Fam. 2. 7, 4 'Ut et senati consultum et leges defendas;' *ib.* 8. 8, 6 'Quominus de R. P. P. R. Q. referri senatique consultum fieri possit.' This last passage is from a complete decree of the senate, quoted in its integrity by M. Caelius, in a letter to Cicero.

l. 12. **Duce, civi egregio.** So Halm, following some of the MSS.

The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'L. egnatuleio que opti egregio mo;' in which F. Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. for 1857, p. 467) contends that 'egregio' is a mere gloss, and that the right reading is 'L. Egnatuleio, quaestore optimo.' He inserts ['duce'] conjecturally before 'L. Egnatuleio.' His view is supported by J. Frey (*ib.* p. 631), except that the latter thinks that 'cive' (more probably 'civi') is the word represented by 'que.'

l. 17. **Inissent . . . referrent.** The change in this last part of the resolution to past tenses, as compared with **dent operam** &c. in § 37, is remarkable. Cicero is perhaps here taking up the formal resolution, as it would be recorded in the journals of the senate, which would always be expressed in past form: '**Senatui placuit uti**,' &c.

THE FIFTH PHILIPPIC ORATION

cc. 1, 2. *The speeches of the Consuls on assuming office had done much to lessen the anxiety with which all loyal citizens were longing for the meeting of the senate. But this anxiety was renewed by the proposal of Q. Fufius Calenus, which contrasted strongly with the general firmness shown against Antony, thirteen days before. To send ambassadors to treat with him would be absurdly inconsistent with the recent vote of thanks and honours to those in arms against him: it was what none but Cotyla would have ventured to suggest ten days ago: and it almost made one credit the rumour that it would be proposed to give him the government of Transalpine Gaul; in other words, to furnish him with all the means of waging civil war against the state. And yet this would be madness which no plea of friendship or kindred, to say nothing of corruption, could for a moment justify.*

P. 86. l. 1. **Nihil umquam longius**, 'nothing ever was more impatiently longed for,' 'seemed longer in coming.' This is a favourite expression with Cicero, cp. Fam. 11. 27, 1; Verr. Act. 2. 4. 18, 39; pro Rab. Post. 12, 35 'Nec mihi longius quidquam est, iudices, quam videre hominum vultus.'

l. 4. **Cum . . . oporteret.** The subjunctive is used, because it is not so much the exact moment, as the character of the crisis that is signified; 'at *a* time when,' rather than 'at *the* moment when our counsel was required.'

l. 7. **Ut magis,** &c., 'that it is rather the impatience of our anxiety than the real urgency of the case that has made them seem so late in coming.'

l. 11. **Qui primus rogatus est.** This is shown by 10. 1, 3 to have

been Q. Fufius Calenus, since it was the custom to give the precedence of voting to the same man throughout the year. (Suet. Caes. 21.) From the same passage we learn that this precedence was given at the discretion of the Consul, and that Caesar, after the marriage of his daughter, gave it to his son-in-law Pompey. Hence Manutius thinks it probable that Calenus was called upon to vote first as being the father-in-law of Pansa. (See 8. 6, 19.) It might also have been because he was the junior 'consularis' present, having been Consul in 47 B.C., and his colleague and successors being at this time all either absent from Rome or dead. The usual practice was to begin with the 'consules designati' (see c. 13, 35, and 6. 3, 8), but D. Brutus and L. Plancus were also absent.

l. 16. **Qui dies nudius tertius decimus**, 'what was the character of this day twelve days;' literally 'the day that now is the 13th day since,' a.d. xiii Kal. Ian., the 20th of December, on which the third and fourth orations were delivered. This chapter seems to be the only place where 'nudius' (='nunc dies') is used in speaking of a day so distant.

l. 20. **Nihil sit integrum nisi**, &c., 'the only alternatives now open to you are honourable peace or war from which you cannot shrink.'

P. 87. l. 10. Suscepissent. It is not easy to see the reason for the difference of mood of 'suscepissent' and 'anteposuerunt,' unless it be changed to vary the sound of the termination of the two clauses. In both certain definite individuals are referred to, so that the indicative might have been employed; and in both the subjunctive would appropriately have been used as introducing the reason of the special praise. Perhaps the use of the subjunctive is referable to the presence of eos, in the sense of 'such generals as.'

l. 11. **In colonias.** See 2. 39, 100 foll. notes.

l. 14. **Si enim consulem**, &c. Compare the dilemma used in canvassing the conduct of Antony, 3. 8, 21.

l. 16. **Nondum haberetis.** The city was deserted by both the Consuls of the preceding year, Dolabella having, before the flight of Antony, gone to Asia Minor on his way to Syria.

l. 18. **Placet eodem tempore**, &c. If ambassadors were sent to Antony, he was not considered as an outlaw, and it was only if he were an outlaw that Octavianus, D. Brutus, and the veterans, could be justified in opposing him.

l. 25. **Cotylam.** L. Varius Cotyla was a most intimate friend of Antony, chosen by him to convey his demands to the senate (8. 8, 24). He had probably been aedile in the preceding year, as Cicero calls him 'aedilicius,' 13. 12, 26.

Inventus sit, 'has been found up to the present time.'

l. 29. **Est enim opinio**, &c., 'there is an impression that some one will propose,' &c.

l. 30. **Ultimam Galliam.** Gallia Comata, consisting of all Transalpine Gaul, with the exception of Narbonensis and Belgica, had been divided by Caesar in 44 B.C., between L. Munatius Plancus and A. Hirtius. The latter having come to Rome, the entire command of the province devolved on Plancus.

l. 31. **Quid est aliud.** See 1. 9, 22; 2. 4, 7 notes.

P. 88. l. 1. **Gentes barbaras.** The Romans had often had foreign cavalry in their pay, especially in the campaigns of Caesar in Gaul; and the 'velites' had given place to a 'levis armatura' of barbarian skirmishers; but 'gentes barbarae' would include foreign legionaries, the 'nationes' of the empire, who had not yet been admitted into a Roman army.

l. 5. **Meus amicus.** The prominent position of the pronoun in each case seems to point to these pleas being such as would be urged by different senators. It seems probable that no one ventured to make the proposal which Cicero thus condemns.

l. 6. **Cognatus.** A blood relation by descent from a common ancestor. Cicero argues that the 'cognatio patriae' must come before any ordinary 'cognatio,' since the ground of relationship is to be traced to the founder of the race, and so a man would be proved 'cognatus' to the very persons from whom he would in general trace his relationship to his kindred. In other 'cognationes' we trace up to 'parentes;' when we take into consideration the 'cognatio patriae,' 'parentes' and descendants are alike 'cognati' in relation to the supposed founder of the nation.

l. 8. **Tribuit**, 'he has given me money.' So Halm from the Vatican MS. The ordinary reading is 'attribuit,' which would mean 'he has entrusted me with public money on account' (cp. 9. 7, 16 'Uti consules . . . pecuniam redemptori attribuendam solvendamque curent:' 14. 14, 38 'Quaestores urbanos ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere iubeant'), so that plea and retort would be alike pointless.

Quid autem agatur, &c. For the order of the clauses, see Madv. § 476 c.

cc. 3, 4. *If any one doubted the use which Antony would make of such an opportunity, he need only look at his previous conduct, when professing to follow in the path of Caesar. Caesar had wished to improve the state domains, Antony, in contempt for all forms, and in despite of the most unmistakable auspices, proposed to carry a law giving the whole of Italy to his brother Lucius for distribution. And to prevent any possible remonstrance, on the day when the law was to be voted on, he*

occupied the forum with an overwhelming force of armed men. Cicero therefore proposes that all his laws should be formally annulled: that those which were beneficial should be re-enacted: but that all his embezzlement of public money, all his forgeries, all his fraudulent dealings in pardons, immunities, treaties and grants should be condemned, and reversed, so far as possible, by a solemn decree of the senate.

l. 12. **Urbis dividundae.** This is the emendation of Halm, in his 'corrigenda,' derived from a comparison of § 7; 8. 3, 9; 13. 9, 19; *ib.* 19, 42 and 20, 47; in all which passages a division of the city is spoken of as forming part of Antony's plans. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'urbis eruendorum,' crowded in by a later hand over an erasure too small for it; that of the other MSS. 'bonorum eripiendorum, urbis, agrorum suis condonandi.' The combination of gerundive constructions is remarkable. We have first the simple construction with the gerund, 'populum . . . opprimendi;' secondly, the ordinary attracted construction with the gerundive, 'opprimendae rei publicae;' and thirdly, the intermediate construction, 'agrorum condonandi,' where the object is attracted into the case of the gerund, but the gerund itself remains unaltered. (See Madv. § 413. Obs. 2.) Kritz (on Sallust, Cat. 31, 5) explains this last construction by supposing that the leading substantive and the gerund combine so as to form one notion, on which the second genitive depends. This, however, seems too artificial. Cp. de Invent. 2. 2, 5 'Exemplorum eligendi potestas.'

l. 14. **Dubitate,** &c., 'hesitate, if ye can, what course to take;' or, perhaps, 'consider carefully what you mean to do:' cp. pro S. Rosc. Amer. 31, 88 'Restat ut hoc dubitemus, uter potius Sex. Roscium occiderit:' Virg. Aen. 9, 191 'Percipe porro quid dubitem.' Some editors, without authority, read 'dubitatis.'

l. 15. **At non.** The inferior MSS. have 'an non;' but the clause comes in much better as an objection from some friend of Antony, 'yet all this does not apply to Antony,' than as a question from Cicero.

l. 16. **Qui, cuius acta,** &c., 'who while professing to maintain the acts of Caesar, selects those laws of his for travesty which we might best have praised.'

l. 18. **Paludes.** The drainage of the Pomptine marshes was commenced by Caesar, and some progress seems to have been made before his death, as Dion Cassius tells us (49. 5) that Antony proposed to divide the land reclaimed among the poorer Roman citizens. For this commission to divide the lands, which Cicero here magnifies into a division of all Italy, cp. 11. 6, 13; 2. 3, 6 note. The law appointing the commissioners was annulled as being carried illegally.

l. 21. **Augur verecundus,** &c., 'but our bashful augur sets about interpreting the auspices without his colleagues;' some such word as

'agit' being understood. Cp. 10. 6, 13 'Homo verecundus in Macedoniam non accedit.'

l. 23. **Iove tonante.** Cp. de Div. 2. 18, 42 'In nostris commentariis scriptum habemus, Iove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi haberi nefas;' and see 2. 38, 99 note.

l. 24. **Plebi.** So the Vatican MS. here and in c. 4, 9. The form is defended and illustrated by Drakenborch on Livy 2. 43.

l. 25. **Ille biennium, &c.** It is doubtful who are meant by 'ille' and 'iste.' The latter would seem to refer to Antony, working through his tools, the tribunes of the commons. 'Ille' then must be Caesar, and the meaning is, 'Caesar limited the tenure even of a consular province to two years, Antony has extended it to six.' In 8. 9, 28 Antony is represented as demanding that he should hold his province for *five* years, perhaps by way of moderation. Otherwise 'ille' and 'iste' might refer to the two proposers of the change, the one advocating the tenure of praetorian provinces for two years, the other that of consular provinces for six. This seems less likely, partly because there would be no object in thus dividing the measure, partly because it loses the contemptuous force of 'iste,' so appropriately used of Antony. Halm reads 'hic,' apparently adopting the latter interpretation; Kayser 'hi,' from A. W. Zumpt. For the 'Lex Iulia de provinciis' cp. 1. 8, 19; 2. 42, 109.

l. 29. **Lex Caecilia et Didia**, passed by the Consuls Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos and T. Didius, 98 B.C., and requiring that every law should be published on three successive 'nundinae' before it was proposed. This law and the 'Lex Iunia et Licinia' were considered by Cicero two of the 'remedia rei publicae,' Att. 2. 9, 1.

Trinum nundinum. This passage, with de Dom. 16, 41 'Quod in ceteris legibus trinum nundinum esse oportet, id in adoptione satis est trium esse horarum,' seems to show that 'trinum nundinum' was originally a genitive plural (see on 2. 17, 43), though afterwards, like 'sestertium' (see on 2. 37, 95), it came to be treated as a neuter singular, as in Livy 3. 35 'Postquam comitia decemviris creandis in trinum nundinum indicta sunt;' Quint. 2. 4, 35 'Rogatio sive non trino forte nundino promulgata, sive non idoneo die.'

l. 30. **Lege Iunia et Licinia**, passed by the Consuls D. Iunius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, 62 B.C., against introducing laws without due notice, 'ne clam aerario legem ferri liceret.'

l. 32. **Insinuandi**, 'of making their way into the forum.' 'Insinuo' is more generally used with the reflexive pronoun, but cp. Fam. 4. 13. 6 'In ipsius consuetudinem insinuabo.'

l. 33. **Si auspicia, &c.**, 'if his religious feeling could not be aroused, the storm was enough to break down any ordinary physical powers.'

P. 89. l. 4. **Clamore** depends on **prohibente**; 'when Jupiter was

not only thundering, but absolutely stopping all action by his uproar in the sky.'

l. 5. **Cum eo collega.** Dolabella. See on 2. 33, 82 foll.

l. 7. **Nos fortasse erimus interpretes.** He no longer expresses himself with the same confidence as in 2. 33, 83 'Acta Dolabellae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur.'

l. 8. **Num ergo, &c.** The meaning of the arms at any rate was plain enough.

l. 16. **Censeo,** 'I give my formal vote.' See 3. 15, 37 note.

l. 17. **Si quam legem, &c.** The meaning of this seems to be that Antony, by illegally passing measures to suit his own purposes, had thrown such suspicion over all his acts, that even his beneficial measures, for the more security, had better be formally re-enacted. The dictatorship had been abolished, and Caesar's acts confirmed, by a decree of the senate, not by a law, but the argument would equally apply to both.

l. 21. **Quamvis** here qualifies **bonas,** and **leges** is the predicate of the apodosis. 'However good the measures may have been which he passed irregularly and by force, yet they must not be considered laws.'

l. 25. **Sestertium septiens miliens.** Somewhat over 6,000,000*l.* of our money. Cp. 2. 14, 35; 37, 93.

Falsis perscriptionibus, 'by forged entries.' 'Perscriptio' is a memorandum of money spent, not yet formally entered in the account book. Cp. pro Rosc. Com. 2, 5 'Suum codicem (ledger) testis loco recitare arrogantiae est; suarum perscriptionum et litterarum adversaria proferre non amentia est?' The entries referred to were forged in the papers which Antony produced as Caesar's.

l. 26. **Avertit,** 'he has embezzled,' 'turned to his own use;' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 19, 49 'Si doceo te non minus domum tuam avertisse quam Romam misisse.'

l. 30. **Immunitates, &c.** See 2. 36, 92 notes.

l. 31. **Commentariis.** See 1. 1, 2 note.

Ipse auctor. Cp. 2. 14, 35 note.

l. 33. **Quam viris.** Two of whom, P. Clodius and C. Curio, she had outlived. See 2. 44, 113 note.

P. 90. l. 1. **Exsules.** Cp. 2. 23, 56.

l. 8. **Referebat.** Sc. 'in tabulas;' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4, 65, 146 'Cum iam non solum discessio facta est, sed etiam perscriptum atque in tabulas relatum.'

Syngraphae, 'contracts were signed and sealed.' Notably that with Deiotarus; see 2. 37, 95 note.

l. 9. **Ad aerarium.** Laws and decrees of the senate, after being exposed to public view for a sufficient time, were finally deposited, for safe custody, with the 'quaestores aerarii' in the treasury. Cp. Tac. Ann. 3.

51 'Factum senatus consultum ne decreta patrum ante diem decimum ad aerarium deferrentur;' Livy 39. 4 'Qui per infrequentiam furtim factum senatus consultum ad aerarium detulerit.' Originally, from the time of the abolition of the decemvirate, decrees of the senate had been placed in the temple of Ceres, under the care of the aediles. See Livy 3. 55.

l. 12. **Liberatae**, sc. 'vectigalibus.' Cp. 2. 38, 97.

l. 13. **Toto Capitolio figebantur.** So elsewhere of Caesar's decrees, genuine or forged, 2. 36, 91; 37, 93; 38, 97; 12. 5, 12.

l. 14. **Hoc genus pene**, &c. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., and no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. The other MSS. omit 'pene,' for which 'pecuniae' and 'penu' (itself a form only quoted by grammarians from Afranius) have been suggested. The meaning is clear, 'could all this treasure be realized:' but the reading seems hopeless. P. R. Müller suggests 'si hoc genus populi in usum redigatur,' but even with this violent alteration he leaves 'genus' unexplained. Halm proposes 'si hoc ingens fenus.' The right reading may perhaps be, as has been suggested by Professor Conington, 'si hoc genus omne in unum redigatur,' 'if all these various kinds of treasure could be reduced to one, viz. money.'

cc. 5, 6. *Especially his law with respect to the 'iudicium' must be repealed. It was bad enough at first sight that centurions and even private soldiers of a foreign legion should be indiscriminately admitted to the judicial bench. But the reality was even worse: among the best of the new 'iudices' were aliens and gamblers, men either unknown in Rome, or better known than liked, men over whom the praetor could have no control, some of them even ignorant of the Latin language. And after these came all the dregs of Antony's revellers; the sole object of the law being to secure impunity for crimes which could not possibly escape before a decently respectable tribunal. Such a law was a deep disgrace to the whole country, and even had it been legally passed, must needs have been annulled.*

l. 16. **Legem iudiciariam.** See on 1. 8, 19 foll.

l. 19. **At ille legit**, &c. What he acknowledged was bad enough, that he appointed men who had no position to guarantee their integrity, private soldiers, of foreign extraction. Yet these at least were Roman citizens, and had not forfeited their reputation. 'Those whom he really chose were even worse, gamesters, exiles, even Greeks. A noble bench of jurymen, a court of truly wondrous dignity!' Cp. Att. 1. 16, 3 'Non enim umquam turpior in ludo talario consessus fuit.'

l. 22. **Cydam.** Sc. 'legit.' 'Cydas' was a common name in Cortyna, but this man is otherwise unknown.

l. 24. **Ex iudicum genere et forma,** 'of the breed and stamp of men of whom we make our jurymen.'

l. 27. **Dilectus,** &c., 'even among our own citizens we exercise *some* choice and discrimination.' Cp. 1. 8, 20 'Census praefiniebatur.'

l. 29. **Nam Lysiaden,** &c. 'Nam' carries on the connexion rather of Cicero's thoughts than of his words. 'Who could be expected to know a juryman from Cortyna? this is worse than all, for men like Lysiades at least we know.'

l. 30. **Phaedrus** was the president of the Epicurean school when Cicero was at Athens, 80 B.C. Cp. de Nat. Deor. 1. 33, 93; de Fin. 1. 5, 16.

l. 31. **Ut ei cum Curio,** &c., 'so that he would have no difficulty in agreeing with Curius, his partner on the bench and at the gaming table.'

P. 91. l. 1. **Areopagites esse.** A Greek construction, perhaps introduced to suit the nationality of Lysiades. Cp. Catull. 4. 1

'Phaselus ille quem videtis hospites
Ait fuisse navium celerrimus.'

l. 2. **Is, qui quaestioni praeerit,** &c., 'will the presiding praetor admit the excuse of the Greekling juryman, clad now in Greek, and now in Roman garb?'

l. 6. **Quem ad modum.** So the Vatican MS. 'How shall a prisoner get an advocate to plead before this man?' 'Allegare' is used in private matters as 'legare' in public, 'to employ a representative.' Cp. Fam. 15. 4, 16 'Extremum illud est, ut philosophiam ad te allegem.' In post-Augustan Latin it obtains the meaning 'to allege.' The other MSS. have 'quem ad hunc,' 'what advocate shall he employ?'

l. 7. **Dura natio est.** J. Meursius, in his account of Crete, gives a long list of the vices of the Cretans, convicting them, on the testimony of ancient authors, of cunning, avarice, treachery, disloyalty, and piracy; but their cruelty, except so far as it might be involved in the other faults, does not seem to be elsewhere recorded.

At Athenienses. This at least cannot be said against them all. Lysiades is of a nation noted for its clemency.

l. 9. **Lecti,** 'chosen by Antony.'

l. 10. **Legitimam excusationem.** Absence from Rome on the service of the state was a valid plea for escaping the burden of the 'iudicium,' and these men had been required by the state to go abroad. Cp. pro Quinct. 28, 86 'Exsilii causa solum vertisse;' Juv. 11. 49 'Qui vertere solum Baias et ad ostrea currunt.'

l. 13. **Si ullam speciem,** &c., 'had any idea (ἰδέα, the faintest image) of a commonwealth, been in his thoughts.' Cp. c. 4, 11 'Imago nulla liberae civitatis relinquetur.'

l. 16. **In tertiam decuriam.** See 1. 8, 19 and 20 notes.

l. 18. **Maximo imbri**, &c. See above, c. 3, 8.

l. 20. **Quos hospites.** So the Vatican MS. The others have 'quos socios ad epulas hospites,' the additional words bearing evident signs of being a gloss to interpret 'hospites.'

l. 22. **Ratio confecta est**, 'the tale of which was duly stored.' There appears here to be a confusion of ideas between 'rationem conficere,' 'to make up one's accounts' (cp. Fam. 5. 20, 2 'Rationes confectas collatas'), and 'pecuniam conficere,' 'to gather money together,' cp. pro Flacc. 9, 20 'Duae rationes conficiendae pecuniae.' **Ratiunculam nummorum conficere** is used by Terence (Phorm. i. 1, 2–4) of paying up money in arrears.

l. 25. **Fuisse.** The later MSS. have 'fecissent,' but the exclamation of indignant surprise suits better here. It was bad enough to work out the idea of the third decuria; but to think of the shamelessness, the foul iniquity that dared to choose such jurymen as these to sit in it! Cp. Fam. 14. 1, 1 'Me miserum! te, ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse.'

l. 26. **Imprimeretur.** The subjunctive is used, because the proposition sets forth, not the identity, but the character of the jurymen, who were such that by choosing them a double disgrace was inflicted on the state; first, the corruption of the judicial bench; and secondly, the revelation that such reprobates were so numerous in Rome.

l. 31. **Nunc vero**, &c. His only reason for not proposing their repeal was that this would be an acknowledgement that they had been constitutionally passed.

cc. 6, 7. *Urging the enormity of Antony's offence in bringing armed men into the senate-house, Cicero strengthens his proposal to annul the laws of Antony, by passing in review his conduct towards the senate. On the 1st of September he threatened to pull down Cicero's house for being absent, though there was no pressing business to discuss; and having been absent himself when Cicero delivered his first Philippic oration, he spent seventeen days in drinking and declaiming in Scipio's villa, by way of preparing a reply. On the occasion of its delivery, nothing but absence could have saved Cicero from the violence of Antony and his brother Lucius; and all Antony's policy since that time had consisted in plundering and distributing to his ruffians the property of honest men.*

l. 33. **Gravissimis ignominiis**, &c., 'is not this to be handed down to posterity with the record of the deepest ignominy which this senate can inflict?'

P. 92. l. 3. **Armatos.** The tyrant's bodyguard. See 1. 11, 27 note.

l. 4. **Cinnam**, &c. Cp. 2. 42, 108.

l. 9. **Cassius.** Perhaps Barba Cassius, who is mentioned in connexion with Mustela and Tiro 13. 2, 3. For these latter see on 2. 4, 8.

l. 11. **Certum agminis locum,** 'marched in regular column.'

Barbari. The Ityraeans. See on 2. 8, 19.

l. 13. **Non quo . . . vellet.** See on 1. 4, 9.

l. 15. **Non modo adspectu, sed etiam auditu.** This is Halm's reading, from a conjecture of P. R. Müller, based on a comparison of the Vatican reading 'non modo auditus sed etiam aspectu' (which involves an anticlimax, unless it might be, 'a disgrace which is not merely a matter of report, but of ocular evidence,') with 2. 25, 63 'O rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu.' The other MSS. have 'auditu, non modo aspectu.'

l. 17. **Opertis valvis.** Cp. 2. 44, 112 'Cur valvae Concordiae non patent?'

l. 19. **Kal. Sept.,** the day before the first Philippic was delivered. Cp. 1. 5, 12.

l. 23. **Minus libere.** As he still wished to leave a door of reconciliation open. See introd. to the first oration.

l. 25. **Qui . . . excluderet,** 'violent to the extent of barring this habit of free speech.'

l. 26. **Fecerat enim,** &c. The parenthetic clause is apparently introduced to explain and justify the word 'consuetudinem.' The speech of L. Piso was on the 1st of August. Cp. 1. 4, 10.

l. 28. **A. d. xiii Kal. Oct.** On the 19th of September Antony delivered the speech to which the second Philippic is supposed to be an answer. See introd. to the second oration.

l. 29. **In Tiburtino Scipionis.** Cp. 2. 17, 42.

l. 30. **Sitim quaerens,** 'to stimulate his thirst.' Hence his use of the exaggeration 'declamitavit,' rather than 'commentatus est,' which he employs in his account of the same matter to Q. Cassius, Fam. 12. 2, 1. Some MSS. insert the words 'ut digestio potius quam declamatio videretur,' which seem to be a gloss.

P. 93. l. 5. **Myrmillo.** See on 3. 12, 31. Of the circumstance to which Cicero alludes we have no record except his own repeated taunts. Cp. c. 11, 30; 7. 6, 17. Mylasa was the principal city of Caria.

l. 7. **Multum profuderat,** 'he had poured forth unsparingly.'

l. 9. **Aviditate coniuncta.** For the use of the ablative cp. 3. 14, 35 'Ea summa miseria est summo dedecore coniuncta;' and see Madv. § 268 a. Obs. 2.

l. 11. **Nullus aditus privato,** &c., 'no one who had been deprived of his lands could obtain an audience, no arguments of equity could prevail on him to spare.' From the similarity of expression de Imp.

Cn. Pomp. c. 14, 41 'Ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum,' it has been thought that here also 'privato' means 'a private person;' but the whole context, both here and in c. 19, 53, seems to point to the interpretation given above. Cp. 7. 6, 18 'Queretur expulsos,' where 'expulsi' seems to be the same as 'privati.'

l. 13. **Si leges irritas feceritis, &c.** Cicero might have been content to let the commission of the 'septemviri' and their acts fall through in the general annulling of Antony's laws, but the special iniquity of them seemed to call for individual notice, and to require every care that they should not be allowed to stand for want of attention being drawn to them.

cc. 8, 9. *Antony had persistently endeavoured to bring about a reign of terror. He had threatened his opponents with death, and all the people with slavery; he had gone to Brundisium to get forces adequate for his purpose, and finding that the troops refused to be his tools, he took a murderous revenge on their centurions. C. Caesar offered to oppose him, and Antony was prepared to move that he should be declared a public enemy, had not the defection of his legions caused him to flee in panic from the city. Even then he persevered in his evil designs, marching on Cisalpine Gaul, and besieging D. Brutus in Mutina. He, a Roman citizen, was waging against Rome a war more savage and destructive than any foreign foe had ever done: and yet men hesitated to declare him an enemy, and were for sending envoys to him, thus lowering the dignity of the senate, cooling the general ardour for war, and losing precious time, without a chance of doing good.*

l. 19. **Nisi victorem, &c.** Cp. 3. 11, 27.

l. 21. **Quam facturum fuisse.** For this attraction from the finite verb after 'quam' see Madv. § 402 c.

l. 23. **Quotienscumque vellet.** Constitutionally a military commander lost his 'imperium' by entering the city. See on 1. 2, 6; and on c. 16, 45.

l. 25. **Iter Brundisium.** See 2. 30, 76 note.

l. 26. **Nisi ad urbem.** So the Vatican MS. Some MSS. have 'nisi ut ad urbem,' but not only would the construction 'spes ut' be a very unusual one (cp. Lael. 19, 68 'Spem adferunt ut fructus appareat'), but the clause introduced by 'nisi' is evidently meant to give the grounds, not the substance of his hope.

l. 27. **Dilectus centurionum,** 'assembling of the centurions.' See 3. 2, 4 note. Some MSS. have 'delectus,' butt hough the verb 'diligo' is never used of levying or assembling soldiers, the form 'dilectus' is often found in the best MSS. both as substantive and as past participle.

l. 28. **Effrenatio,** *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον,* 'what unbridled fury of an ill-

regulated temper.' Cp. Hor. Od. 1. 37, 10 'Quidlibet impotens sperare.'

l. 29. **Reclamassent**, 'had shouted disapproval.' Cp. Fam. 1. 2, 2 'Orationi reclamare.'

P. 94. l. 4. **Descripsit**, 'he portioned off.' Cp. pro Flacc. 14, 32 'Descripsit pecuniam ad Pompeii rationem.'

l. 6. **Divina.** So Halm, for 'divini,' from a conjecture of Madvig's, supported by one MS.

l. 7. **Quamquam sua sponte**, &c., 'unprompted, it is true, save by his own unrivalled virtue, yet with the full sanction of my authority.' Cp. Att. 16. 8, 2 'Consultabat, utrum Romam cum tribus milibus veteranorum proficisceretur, an Capuam teneret . . . an iret ad tres legiones Macedonicas.'

l. 8. **Patrias**, 'which his father had founded.'

l. 11. **Ducem praestantissimum.** Of this he had at least hitherto given no proof, having held no military command.

Nihil egit aliud, &c., 'it strove for nothing else except our freedom.'

l. 14. **Consularem**, &c. We know from 3. 8, 20 that the consular in question had come into the senate with his vote ready written down. 'Though he had procured a consular to pronounce Octavianus an enemy by formal vote.'

l. 15. **Concidit**, 'he collapsed:' cp. 2. 42, 107 'concidisti.'

l. 16. **Votis nuncupatis.** See 3, 4, 11 note. He there represents Antony as having pronounced the vows, but left the sacrifices unperformed.

Non profectus est, sed profugit. Cp. c. 11, 30 'Post discessum latronis vel potius desperatam fugam;' and 13. 9, 19 'Egressus est non viis, sed tramitibus paludatus, . . . ex eo non iter, sed cursus et fuga in Galliam.'

l. 18. **Firmissimorum.** Most editions add 'et fortissimorum,' which is added by a later hand in the Vatican MS., but seems to be a gloss, perhaps derived from 3. 15, 38. Kayser inserts the words in brackets.

l. 23. **Mutinam**, now Modena. A colony, with the full rights of Roman citizens, was planted here in 183 B.C., to strengthen the Roman frontier on the subjection of the Boii.

l. 27. **Hostiliter**, 'so as to prove himself an enemy.'

Quod hic non fecerit, &c., 'which does not find a parallel in what Antony either has done, or is doing, or is at least contriving and planning.'

l. 30. **Quas.** Some MSS. have 'quae,' as in de Nat. Deor. 3. 24, 61 'Nemo fortunam ab inconstantia et temeritate seiunget, quae digna certe non sunt deo:' see Madv. § 315 a.

l. 31. **At hi** is adopted by Halm and most editors from the conjecture of Naugerius (1519), in place of the ungrammatical reading of the

Vatican MS. 'haec.' The other MSS. have 'haec hi,' or 'haec ii,' except one which has 'et hii.' The 'at' might easily have dropped out after 'reservabat.'

Qui in horam viverent, 'who lived but for the passing hour.' Cp. 'In diem vivere,' 2. 34, 87. The subjunctive is due to the causal force of the relative.

Non modo is used thus for 'non modo non,' only when the predicate is common to both clauses, so that the negation which lies in 'ne quidem' may be referred to the whole. See Madv., § 461 b.

P. 95. l. 1. **Isti homines**, 'the men you favour.' He is addressing Calenus, cp. c. 1, 1 'Qui primus rogatus est;' and the note.

l. 6. **Hunc**, &c., 'will quench the ardour now apparent in the Roman people, and crush the spirits of the burghers throughout Italy.'

c. 10. *An embassy would be interpreted as indicating fear; and it was not like opening negotiations with a foreign general, because there was no further authority to which they could appeal, if Antony refused compliance. In dealing with a rebellious citizen, the dignified course was to compel him to submit, instead of begging him to have compassion on his country.*

l. 13. **Minimis momentis**, &c., 'the smallest impulses bring about the greatest changes in events.'

l. 21. **Miserat olim**, &c., in 218 B.C. Cp. Livy 21. 6 'Legati missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tampilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem, atque inde Karthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.' The name of the latter envoy is recovered from the passage in Livy, the MSS. of Cicero having 'vebium pamphilum.' When Hannibal would not listen to terms, remonstrances could be made to his government, to which he could not refuse obedience; if Antony proved obstinate, there was no ulterior court of appeal.

l. 26. **Itane vero?** 'is it then come to this?'

l. 28. **Propugnaculum**, 'an outpost.' Cp. de Leg. Agrar. 2. 27, 74 'Est operae pretium diligentiam maiorum recordari, qui colonias sic idoneis in locis contra suspicionem periculi collocarunt, ut esse non oppida Italiae, sed propugnacula imperii viderentur.' See above on c. 9, 24.

l. 31. **Sagunti oppugnatio.** The siege of Saguntum, memorable for the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants, was in violation of the treaty between Rome and Carthage, the Saguntines being in alliance with Rome. It was taken by Hannibal in 218 B.C.

l. 33. **Quid simile tandem?** 'Where is the analogy with the present case?'

cc. 11, 12. *After the decrees passed on the 20th of December.*

Antony could only be dealt with as a public enemy. His presence in Rome would be intolerable to honest men, and a mere nucleus of treason, even if he should submit; but neither his own disloyalty, nor the passions of his followers, would ever suffer him to yield, and the only result of the embassy would be a further waste of precious time. Instant action was what was requisite; a tumult should be declared, a universal levy held, all civil business should be suspended, and the military garb be generally assumed. Such promptitude might overwhelm him, for it would show that it was no longer a mere party question, when all parties in the state were bent on crushing him. He had even gone so far as to promise unlimited plunder to his followers, and therefore it was surely time to place the matter in the hands of the Consuls, only offering an amnesty to those who should at once return to their allegiance.

P. 96. l. 4. **Age, si paruerit.** Even if he now obeys, the time is past. Punishment, not negotiation, is what is now required. If we would we could not, and if we could we would not treat him as a citizen.

l. 5. **Decretis vestris.** See 3. 15.

l. 6. **Concidistis,** 'you gave the death-blow to his hopes:' cp. ad Q. Fr. 2. 4, 1 'Vatinium arbitratu nostro concidimus.' So the neuter 'concidit,' above c. 9, 23. cp. 2. 42, 107.

l. 9. **Qui fuit,** 'of whom you *rightly* judged that C. Caesar was the chief.'

l. 15. **D. Bruti edicto.** See 3. 4, 8.

l. 18. **Quid aliud . . . nisi ut,** &c., 'what other object had you in view except to declare Antony a public enemy?'

l. 24. **Num umquam.** So Halm, following P. R. Müller, from the Vatican reading 'numquam.' The other MSS. have 'num quando.'

l. 26. **Minus vereor.** Because the contingency will never arise; he will never obey.

l. 29. **Peregre depugnarit.** As a myrmillo at Mylasa. See on c. 7, 20.

l. 30. **Familiam ducit,** 'heads the band,' not as captain or officer, but set in front as the prime specimen of the lot. The expression is taken from the practice of putting the finest man in the front of a gang of slaves exposed for sale, to recommend the lot. So Quintilian has 'classem ducere,' of a schoolboy, 'to be the show-boy of the class,' 1. 2, 24. Here the expression has peculiar point from the application of 'fàmilia' to a school of gladiators. Cicero elsewhere uses the expression metaphorically: Fin. 4. 16, 45 'Gravissimam illam vestram sententiam, quae familiam ducit,' ('stands in the forefront of your philosophy.') Cp. Fam. 7. 5, 3.

l. 33. **Tractum,** 'prolonged,' equivalent to 'protractum'; cp. Att.

10. 8, 2 'Id quod maxime velim, pelli istum ab Hispania, aut trahi id bellum.'

Ut primum, &c. See 3. 1, 1 note.

P. 97. l. 5. **Serius omnino**, &c. Cp. the beginning of the third oration.

l. 9. **Kalendae Ianuariae.** When the new Consuls entered on their office.

l. 11. **Hanc moram.** After these words there is in the margin of the Vatican MS., by a later hand, the word 'afferemus,' which Kayser inserts, but Halm thinks it an unnecessary interpolation, the verb being frequently omitted, even in these orations, in similar rhetorical exclamations. Cp. 2. 29, 74 'Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?' and the note.

l. 12. **Quorum exspectatio**, 'waiting for whom throws a doubt over the certainty of war, which stops all zeal in the levying of troops.'

l. 15. **Censeo.** See on 3. 9, 24.

Rem administrandam, &c., 'we should without delay determine on our line of policy, and proceed at once to carry it into effect.'

l. 16. **Tumultum.** In 8. 1, 3 Cicero gives a practical definition of 'tumultus.' 'Maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant.'

l. 18. **Sublatis vacationibus**, 'with no allowance of exemptions.' So in 326 B.C., on an alarm of an invasion of the Gauls, L. Aemilius was ordered 'Exercitum scribere sine ulla vacationis venia' Livy 8. 20. 'Vacatio,' 'exemption from further service,' on account of illness, civil employment, completion of the term of service, or the like, is to be carefully distinguished from 'commeatus,' 'furlough,' or leave of absence for a time.

Praeter Galliam. In 8. 2, 6 and Fam. 11. 8, 2 he speaks of this levy as being 'tota Italia,' without excepting Gaul; but here, in his formal vote, he is naturally more precise in his language. From 7. 8, 21 we learn that Antony was raising levies in Gaul, which sufficiently accounts for its exception. Cp. Fam. 12. 5, 2.

l. 23. **Alteri**, &c., 'those favouring Antony are conquered; those opposing him are found in the very heart of C. Caesar's party.' Cicero's argument is that the vote of Dec. 20 showed that Antony had no party of his own in the senate, and that the very people whom he might have expected to enlist upon his side, the partisans of the dictator, were actively arrayed against him. Manutius and other commentators take the former 'alteri' to mean the Pompeian party, but then the second 'alteri' could only be 'the adherents of the dictator,' and it would be

wholly without point, and mere tautology, to say that they were to be found in Caesar's party.

l. 25. **A Pansa et Hirtio.** They were both bound by ties of gratitude and friendship to the dictator, and now held the consulship on his nomination.

l. 28. **Quibus,** 'for whose benefit,' unless the dative may be looked on as immediately depending on 'distributae,' 'among whom;' 'notatae sunt et' being, as regards the grammar, parenthetical.

l. 29. **Ad cuiusque opinionem,** 'to suit the views of each:' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 51, 135 'Iste, qui iam spe atque opinione praedam illam devorasset.'

l. 30. **Septemvirum.** See on 2. 38, 99.

Capitalem hominem, 'a gallows-bird.' The word in this sense is generally used of crimes rather than of their perpetrators, but cp. Cat. 2. 2, 3 'Tam capitalem hostem.'

P. 98. l. 2. **Integrum reliquerit,** 'he has left nothing in which he has not so far committed himself, as not to have promised it to some one.'

l. 8. **Ne quid detrimenti,** &c. This was the formula by which martial law was proclaimed, and irresponsible power given to the Consuls. Cp. pro Mil. 26, 70 'Pompeio senatus commisit ut videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet; quo uno versiculo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis.'

l. 9. **Ut ne.** See Madv. § 456.

l. 10. **Fraudi.** So in the laws of the XII Tables: 'Se fraude esto,' 'let him be blameless.'

l. 14. **Quoad rettulistis,** 'so far as your motion related to the state.' Some editors read 'quod,' but 'quoad' is the reading of the Vatican MS., and 'quod' would rather mean 'as to the point of your having made a motion about the state' (see Madv. 398 b. Obs. 2), which would be less appropriate here.

cc. 13–15. *Turning to the question of rewarding those who had done loyal service to the state, Cicero proposes that a vote of thanks should be given to D. Brutus, who had saved his country by preserving Cisalpine Gaul from the hands of Antony: and that a gilt equestrian statue should be erected in honour of M. Lepidus, who had always shown himself to be a true lover of liberty, and who had lately quenched the embers of a dangerous civil war, and done good service in restoring Sext. Pompeius to his country.*

l. 16. **Deinceps,** 'next in their due order,' 'deinceps' always conveying the idea of a series, the members of which come in regular succession, as opposed to 'deinde' which only expresses succession as a matter of fact.

l. 17. **In sententiis rogandis.** See on c. 1, 1.

l. 20. **Superiora**: his share in the assassination of Caesar, which all men were not as yet prepared to praise.

l. 22. **Huius ipsius temporis,** &c., 'the praise which he has won for his conduct at this time:' the praise being considered from different points of view as bestowed on Brutus and on the time. A somewhat similar combination of two different genitives is found in Caes. B. G. 3. 18 'Superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio.'

l. 24. **Desiderat,** 'feels to be needful for the perfection of its happiness;' **careat,** 'though it be deprived of this.'

l. 26. **Laetetur.** The subjunctive is not dependent on 'quamquam,' which here signifies 'and yet;' but is due (like 'sit') to the conditional nature of the clause, *φαιδρύνοιτ' ἄν*; 'if permitted, it would rejoice at finding a record in the hearts of its grateful fellow-citizens, as being thus brought forth to view.'

P. 99. l. 4. **Existimare** 'express their opinion.' Cp. 2. 4, 9.

l. 11. **Ultimam,** Gallia Comata, at present held by L. Munatius Plancus, the other Consul elect. See on c. 2, 5.

l. 13. **Devius,** 'never constant in his course.' Cp. Lael. 25, 93 'Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium quam animus eius, qui ad alterius vultum atque nutum convertitur?' and Lucr. 2. 82 'Avius a vera longe ratione vagaris.'

l. 16. **Muro.** The force and propriety of this expression is only to be appreciated when the Alps are seen from the Italian side, descending, as it seems from a little distance, precipitously into the plain of Lombardy. The northern side is, generally speaking, much less steep, and there is no extensive plain to give the force of contrast.

l. 22. **Praesidet atque praesedit,** 'is now, and always has been, the bulwark of our empire,' lying as an obstacle to the inroads of the outer barbarians beyond the Alps.

l. 25. **M. Lepido.** Lepidus had been appointed by Caesar to the government of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior, and repaired thither shortly after Caesar's death, at Antony's instigation, to try and reconcile the younger Pompey to the senate, with the ulterior object of weakening the power of the opposition, should the civil war again break out.

l. 29. **Diadema.** See 2. 34, 85 notes.

l. 32. **Quanta moderatione.** He had followed the lead of Antony throughout, but had withdrawn from Rome before the latter began to abandon the moderation which at first he showed.

P. 100. l. 4. **Bellum civile,** the war with Sext. Pompeius, as continued after Caesar's death.

l. 6. **Sapientia.** Some second virtue seems to be required here, to balance 'armis et ferro.' The want has been variously supplied by 'et clementia,' 'et mansuetudine,' or 'et humanitate,' from the following section. The missing word would seem to be represented by 'etiam,' which is otiose.

l. 7. **Adducere.** We should rather have expected 'rem adduci,' maintaining the form of the previous clause, but the civil war is represented as using its instruments of harness and sword to bring the matter to a crisis.

l. 10. **Pietas,** 'sympathy with, and duty towards their father.'

l. 13. **Restituit.** See on 3. 9, 23.

l. 15. **Quod . . . lumen fuit.** Cp. 2. 22, 54 note.

l. 17. **Filius.** Cn. Pompeius, the elder brother of Sextus, was wounded in the battle of Munda (March 17, B.C. 45), and shortly afterwards captured and slain.

l. 23. **Pontifice maximo.** He owed this dignity to Antony, who caused him to be elected to the vacancy made by Caesar's death, in return for the support that Lepidus had given him.

P. 101. l. 5. **Primum, &c.** The natural sequence to this would have been 'deinde quia novus est,' but Cicero, having interrupted his sentence to give the reasons why his vote was just, resumes it in another form. Similarly in Cat. 2. 10, 21 he begins, 'Qui homines primum si stare non possunt corruant;' and then being led away to give the reason for this wish, he never proceeds to the second consideration.

l. 7. **Redditur,** 'it is awarded him *in payment for* his services.'

Nec cuiquam, &c. Manutius quotes a passage from Velleius (2. 10), who says that similar statues were erected to L. Sulla, Cn. Pompeius, and C. Caesar. That in honour of Pompey would be awarded 'iudicio senatus libero et soluto,' and Cicero is careless enough of facts when they interfere with rhetorical point to make his statement of little force as invalidating that of Velleius. See on 2. 1, 1.

cc. 16, 17. *C. Caesar had proved himself the almost superhuman saviour of his country. In the midst of a general panic, though a mere boy, with no experience, no prestige to commend him to the soldiery, he had gathered for himself an army capable of resisting Antony. It was but fair to legalize such energetic patriotism, and therefore Cicero proposes to give him a regular military command, with the title of propraetor; and at the same time to admit him to the senate, with extraordinary privileges, both in his position there, and his capacity for seeking offices of state. In other cases it was well to wait for the maturity of age, but C. Caesar had shown powers far beyond his years, and challenged comparison with Africanus, Alexander, and*

other youthful heroes, whose early powers claimed for them exemption from the ordinary rules whereby mankind is judged.

l. 11. **A Brundisio.** Cp. 3. 2, 4.

l. 12. **Impotentissimus,** &c. The order of the words in this clause is noticeable, the description of Antony beginning with his private intemperance, and proceeding through his malignity, and disloyal temper, to his overt act of treason, his name coming at the end as at once the climax and the explanation of his faults. 'A man of most unbridled passions, burning with malignant feeling, a foe in temper to all honest men, in arms against his country, in a word, Antonius.'

l. 15. **Nullum consilium publicum,** 'no council representing the republic;' the senate being still unable to deliberate freely.

l. 17. **Exitum non habebat,** 'presented no outlet;' no safe place for flight being to be found. Cp. de Or. 2. 77, 312 'Causae quae plurimos exitus dant.'

l. 19. **Deus** is thrown to the end of the clause apparently to give point to 'divinus.' So godlike a young man could only have received his inspiration from a god.

l. 23. **Cum esset adolescens,** 'young man as he was.' Pompey was not quite twenty-three when he raised an army in Picenum, defeated M. Brutus, and joined Sulla, 83 B.C. Octavianus was little more than three years younger at the time of Antony's advance on Rome.

l. 25. **Paratior.** Halm reads 'paratiore,' a conjecture of his own, in order that the clauses may more exactly balance the expressions in the account of Caesar. The final 'e' might easily have dropped out before 'et,' but 'studio paratiore' could only depend upon 'robustior,' which would thus be strangely used with one ablative of physical quality, existing in Pompey, and another of the mental affections of his soldiers. 'He was of a much more vigorous age, and had much more to support him, in the zeal of the soldiers who were seeking for a general,' and so far his difficulties were less; and further, his services were of more doubtful merit, for 'the war in which he engaged was different, the cause of Sulla being less universally popular.'

l. 27. **Municipiorum.** Notably Praeneste, Norba, Nola, and Volaterrae.

P. 102. l. 4. **Regnavit,** 'made himself despot.' See on 2. 12, 29.

l. 5. **Dominatus.** See on 1. 14, 34.

Imperium. This is a 'locus classicus' for the meaning of 'imperium.' See on 1. 7, 18. The same honour was given to Pompey by Sulla, who addressed him when their forces joined as 'Imperator,' though he had held no regular commission from the state.

l. 7. **Sit pro praetore,** 'let him have the rank of propraetor, as fully as though regularly appointed;' 'eo iure quo pro praetore est

qui optimo iure est,' that is, with as full privileges as if he had been legally appointed in the ordinary way.

l. 8. **Ad necessitatem.** If Octavius was to hold the command of an army, he must have the 'imperium;' and Cicero implies that he would ask for further honours, were it not that he anticipated opposition; on which account he limited his demands to what he thought he could obtain, though even here he foresaw difficulty: 'Let us therefore seek for this, which to-day we shall have sufficient difficulty in gaining.' So in the spurious Epistles to Brutus we find (2. 15, 7): 'Cum omne praesidium esset in puero, quis honos ei non fuit decernendus? Quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem tribui, eamque modicam. Decrevi etiam imperium, quod quamquam videbatur illi aetati honorificum, tamen erat exercitum habenti necessarium. Quid enim est sine imperio exercitus?'

l. 11. **Honorandi.** So Halm, for the Vatican reading 'hortandi honorandi,' the two words there probably arising from confusion, such as is common in that MS. Many editors, following Ferrarius, read 'ornandi honorandi,' referring the former to the panegyrics of the senate, the latter to the offices of distinction conferred by the people.

l. 13. **Gai.** 'Gaius,' 'Gnaeus' appear to be properly spelt with a 'G,' the 'C' which usually stands for their initial being probably retained from the time when that letter had the force of 'G.'

l. 21. **Equites, sagittarios, elephantos.** These are joined together as forming the foreign portion of his forces. At this period the cavalry of the Roman army generally, and the light-armed universally, were composed of mercenaries. See on c. 2, 5. The elephants were probably some that had been taken by Caesar from the Moors in the African campaign, and had been attached to the legions of Antony; though elephants had been occasionally used in the Roman army since the close of the second Punic war. (Livy 31. 36.) The last occasion on which they took part in any important engagement was at the battle of Thapsus, where they proved fatal to their own side.

l. 25. **Loco praetorio.** See on 1. 6, 15.

l. 26. **Rationem haberi,** 'votes should be received for him;' he should be taken into account in the election, should be eligible. Cp. 2. 10, 24 note.

l. 29. **Legibus,** by the 'Leges annales,' fixing the age at which a citizen might become a candidate for the various offices of state. That for quaestor was 31, for Consul 43. The first and principal 'Lex annalis' was the 'Lex Villia,' passed in 180 B. C.

P. 103. l. 1. **Admodum antiqui,** 'of primitive simplicity,' not yet hampered by the complexity of more modern regulations: as in 1. 10, 25 he uses 'antiqua' for old-fashioned customs, falling short

of the requirements of more advanced civilization. Cp. pro Quinct. 22, 72 'Hominem antiqui officii.'

Non habebant. Cp. Tac. Ann. 11. 22 'Apud maiores virtutis id praemium fuerat, cunctisque civium, si bonis artibus fiderent, licitum petere magistratus; ac ne aetas quidem distinguebatur, quin prima iuventa consulatum et dictaturas inirent.'

l. 2. **Ambitio**, 'rivalry for office;' not the 'struggle for court favour,' which is a later meaning of the word, illustrative of the change in Roman public life under the emperors, when the avenues of laudable ambition were gradually closed. 'Which rivalry for office introduced long after, that the struggles for the several steps might take place among men of the same age.' Horace uses 'ambitio' in an intermediate sense, similarly suitable to the circumstances of his time, signifying 'a desire to be popular in society:' Sat. 1. 6, 51 'Prava Ambitione procul:' cp. *ib.* 1. 10, 84.

l. 4. **Rulli.** Q. Fabius Maximus Rullus was Consul 322 B.C., having already distinguished himself when 'magister equitum' in 325 B.C., by a victory over the Samnites, gained in a battle which he fought against the orders of his dictator, L. Papirius Cursor. (Livy 8. 29 sqq.) He is the only Rullus of that period known to history.

l. 5. **Decii.** Probably the youthful Consul of the name was the second P. Decius Mus, who was Consul first in 312 B.C. He was afterwards thrice Consul with Fabius Maximus Rullus, and on the last occasion, in 295 B.C., he is described by Livy as being still 'ferocior et aetate et vigore animi' (10. 28).

Corvini. M. Valerius Corvus, whose son took the name of Corvinus, here loosely given to the father, was elected Consul in 348 B.C., as a mark of gratitude for his victory over the gigantic Gaul in the previous year. He was at the time only twenty-three years old. (Livy 7. 26.)

l. 6. **Africanus.** The elder Africanus was twenty-nine when he was made Consul in 205 B.C.; and he had then already achieved the conquest of Spain, where he was appointed to the command of the army as proconsul in 210 B.C.

T. Flamininus was elected Consul in 198 B.C., at the age of thirty-one, having previously only held the office of quaestor. See Livy 32. 7; from which passage we learn that at that time not only was there no 'Lex annalis,' but the practice of requiring men to pass through the several minor grades of office to qualify for the consulship rested only upon custom, not on law. Plutarch says (Flam. c. 2) that he was not yet thirty, but Livy, two years later, makes him thirty-three (33. 33).

l. 8. **Auxerint, ornarint.** Perfects, instead of imperfects, because the results of their exploits continued to the time when Cicero is speaking.

l. 9. **Ab ineunte aetate.** Alexander's first military distinction was gained in the Battle of Chaeroneia, 338 B.C., before he was eighteen. (Plut. Alex. c. 9.)

l. 12. **Quam aetatis.** The insertion of the second member of the comparison before the comparative, to increase the force of contrast, is noticeable; cp. Tusc. 3. 22, 52 'Maris subita tempestas quam ante provisa terret navigantes vehementius;' and see Madv. § 303 a. Obs. 2.

c. 18. *There was no fear of C. Caesar forgetting what was due to moderation, no fear of his following in his father's footsteps, through elation at his early honours. He had learned to prize true glory, the glory which consists in the love and respect of all his fellow-citizens; he had even sacrificed his private enmities to the welfare of the state; and in going to the aid of D. Brutus he had given a pledge which Cicero undertakes he should redeem, that he would always unswervingly maintain his present loyalty.*

l. 13. **Quod ii,** &c., 'what those who envy Caesar feign to dread is no subject even for our apprehension.' For this distinctive meaning of 'vereor' cp. 12. 12, 29 'Quid? veteranos non veremur, nam timeri se ne ipsi quidem volunt, quonam modo accipiant severitatem?' Cat. Ma. 11. 37 'Metuebant servi, verebantur liberi.'

l. 17. **Quique se,** &c. Cicero means this clause to be explanatory of the former: 'the love of one's fellow-citizens is the truest glory.'

l. 19. **Carum** is a conjecture of Ferrarius, adopted by most editors, for the MSS. reading 'clarum.' Cp. 1. 14, 33 'Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est.'

l. 22. **Optimo cuique,** 'best beloved by those who are most virtuous themselves.' See on 1. 12, 29.

l. 33. **Verae, gravi, solidae,** 'genuine, influential, substantial,' opposed severally to **inutilis, invidiosa, lubrica,** 'profitless, obnoxious, precarious.'

P. 104. l. 4. **Condonavit,** 'has sacrificed all his private enmities.'

l. 5. **Consiliorum** is a conjecture of Faernus to supply an obvious want, the reading of the Vatican MS. being 'omnium atque factorum.' Consilia atque facta' are similarly joined in 10. 10, 20; 11, 23; and in the speech de Prov. Cons. 9, 20.

l. 6. **Ita ad rem publicam accessit.** 'His entrance on public life is a guarantee that he will establish, not destroy, the commonwealth.'

l. 7. **Habeo cognitos.** This periphrasis for the perfect active, like the Greek construction with the active aorist participle (*τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει*, Soph. Ant. 22), is a step towards the modern usage of auxiliary verbs. It always marks the fullest force of the definite perfect, that the action of the verb continues, in itself or in its con-

sequences, to the present time. Cp. Fam. 13. 17, 2 'Si eum nondum satis habes cognitum, tibi eum commendo;' and see Madv. § 427.

l. 13. **Domestici doloris**: the assassination of Caesar.

Quae plus possit, 'so as to weigh more.'

l. 16. **Quod . . . temeritatis**, 'which *otherwise* I should not dare to do,' &c. Ernesti supposes an alternative clause to have dropped out after 'temeritatis,' such as 'nisi eum plane perspectum haberem,' but this may easily be supplied from the context.

l. 18. **Promitto, recipio, spondeo**, 'I promise, undertake, pledge myself,' the three words forming a climax, from a mere promise to a solemn bond. 'Recipio,' in the sense of taking a risk upon oneself, is distinguished from 'polliceor,' Att. 13. 1, 2 'De aestate polliceris, vel potius recipis;' and joined with 'spondeo,' Fam. 13. 17, 3 'Spondeo in meque recipio.'

c. 19. *Having moved a vote of thanks and special privileges to L. Egnatuleius, the quaestor of the fourth legion; and proposed that rewards in lands, money, and exemptions from service should be given to the soldiers who had left or should leave the standard of Antony, Cicero concludes by once more deprecating delay, and urging the necessity for immediate and energetic action.*

l. 22. **Dictum habebo**, 'I shall hold that enough has been said.'

l. 24. **Civi**. See on 3. 3, 7.

l. 29. **Magistratus**. Halm reads 'magistratum,' on his own authority, but as Egnatuleius was at present only quaestor, there seems no reason why we should not accept the reading of the Italian MS. (the Vatican has 'magna,' which is obviously wrong, and the others are deficient in this portion of the oration), supposing that he was allowed to anticipate each of the higher magistracies by three years. This privilege, Cicero says, was insignificant in itself, but it was a high honour to have gained in it the public thanks of the senate.

P. 105. l. 1. **Auctoritatem secuti**, &c. The words in italics are added by Halm, after a suggestion of Garatonius, to supply an obvious omission, probably arising from the repetition of the word 'auctoritatem.' The words supplied are modelled on the decree in 3. 15, 37. Cp. 3. 4, 8.

l. 3. **Vacationem**. See on c. 12, 31. Probably the exemption proposed would be with the same limitation as below, 'extra tumultum Gallicum Italicumque.'

l. 6. **Contra legem Iuliam**. The main provisions of the agrarian law, carried by Caesar in his consulship in 59 B.C., for the division of state lands in Campania, were that existing rights of property should be observed, that individual allotments should be small, and incapable

of alienation till they had been held for twenty years, and that the receivers of land were to be poor citizens, fathers of at least three children. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, 4. pp. 200, 528 (Eng. Trans.). Antony had divided this territory 'compransoribus suis et collusoribus.' 2. 39, 101.

l. 9. **Legioni Martiae**, &c. See on 3. 2, 4.

l. 12. **Edidissent**. So the Vatican MS. Cp. Livy 2. 24 'Nominis edendi apud consules potestas.'

l. 14. **Tumultum**. See on c. 12, 31.

l. 15. **Missas fieri**, 'should be at once discharged from further service.'

l. 20. **Privatorum**. See on c. 7, 20.

l. 21. **Ut quibus militibus**. Sc. 'ut iis militibus dati essent quibus amplissime dati essent.' Cp. 'Eo iure quo qui optimo' c. 16, 45.

THE SEVENTH PHILIPPIC ORATION

cc. 1, 2. *The topics for discussion were unimportant, compared with the consideration of the danger overhanging the state. It was asserted that Antony was willing to make what he called moderate terms with the people, giving up at least Cisalpine, if not both the Gauls, as though it were his part to dictate terms, instead of submitting unconditionally to the senate. Such language proved those who employed it to be no good citizens, much less worthy of the name of consular; contrasting as it did with the conduct of C. Pansa, who had availed himself of the opportunity which the crisis gave him, to show himself the noblest Consul that had been known within the memory of man.*

P. 107. l. 2. **De Moneta**. The temple of Juno Moneta, afterwards the Roman Mint, occupied the S.W. summit of the Capitoline Hill. It was built by L. Camillus, on the site of the house of Cn. Manlius Capitolinus, in pursuance of a vow made in a battle with the Aurunci. (Livy 7. 28; 6. 20.)

Lupercis. See on 2. 34, 84.

l. 4. **Suspensus curis maioribus**, 'amid the suspense which greater cares inflict on us.'

l. 7. **Legatorum missionem**. See introduction to the fifth oration.

l. 11. **Revirescere**, 'is regaining strength enough to hope for the renewal of its ancient power.' Some MSS. have 'reviviscere,' a more favourite word with Cicero. For the construction cp. de Prov. Cons. 14, 34 'Ad renovandum bellum revirescent.'

l. 17. **Reserare**, &c., remove the forces which bar Italy against her foreign foes.

l. 18. **Se praesertim incolumi,** 'and that though he is safe.' See on 2. 24, 60.

l. 20. **Illam ultimam,** 'quam Plancus obtinet' 5. 2, 5 : see note.

P. 108. l. 3. **Suam vocat.** On the ground that the decree of the senate which recalled his brother left matters as they were before the provinces had been allotted; and that though the province originally belonged to M. Brutus, he had been superseded in favour of Antony by a previous decree of the senate, passed on the 1st of June.

Gaius frater. He was praetor in 44 B.C., and obtained the province of Macedonia. (Cp. 3. 10, 26.) On his recall, in consequence of the decree passed on the occasion of that oration, he did not return to Rome, but maintained himself in arms against M. Brutus till the autumn of this year. He was eventually put to death by Brutus, probably in retaliation for the murder of Cicero.

l. 5. **Fax.** Cp. 2. 19, 48 'Omnium incendiorum fax;' and de Harusp. Resp. 2. 4 'Cum his furiis et facibus bellum mihi dico esse susceptum.'

l. 7. **Pacis.** This is the conjecture of Ursinus, for the readings of the MSS. 'patris,' or 'partis'; cp. 12. 2, 6 'Ex pacis patrocinio, quod subito suscepit.'

l. 8. **Irritatum.** So Halm, from a correction in the Vatican MS., the word having been omitted by the original writer. The other MSS. have 'irritari,' which is simpler.

l. 12. **Ulciscendi.** The later MSS. have 'ulciscendis' . . . 'pertimescendis,' apparently to avoid the peculiar construction 'ulciscendi cautio.' Cp. however pro Flacc. 13, 31 'Defendendi facilis est cautio.' 'In dealing with traitors, should we take more care to show our fears of them, or to punish them, when there is a chance?'

l. 13. **Propter levitatem,** &c., 'whose frivolity made them seem, in former days, to be hunting after popularity.' See on 2. 31, 77; and for 'populares' on 1. 15, 37.

l. 15. **Non voluntate,** &c., 'that their seeking for popularity arose from no love for the people, but from disloyalty to the state.' They were on the democratic side, only when the democratic side was wrong.

l. 16. **In rebus improbis,** sc. when the popular desire was set on what was wrong, they were all for furthering what the people wished; but when the people's wishes happened to be right, they sacrificed their popularity to their love of wickedness.

l. 19. **Adversarium.** The later MSS. have 'adversatum;' but cp. pro Cluent. 34, 94 'seditiosis adversarius.'

l. 23. **Faveas tu hosti.** This may be addressed to Q. Fufius Calenus (see on 5. 1, 1), but more probably generally to any senator to whom the charges would apply.

l. 25. **Describendas**, 'to copy;' cp. Fam. 12. 17, 2 'Dicam tuis, ut librum, si velint, describant ad teque mittant.'

l. 27. **Accipiet**, &c., C. Pansa will not be offended at my using his name in order to illustrate my argument from an extreme case.

P. 109. l. 6. **Praestantissimum**, &c., 'stands forth most prominently as the most patriotic Consul that I can remember.'

l. 7. **Non quin.** Equivalent to 'non quia non;' cp. de Orat. 2. 72, 295 'Non quin enitendum sit in utroque.'

l. 10. **Tempestas**, &c., 'an opening has been given to Pansa's high-mindedness, solidity of character, and wisdom, in a moment of extraordinary danger.' 'Tempestas temporis,' 'the opportunity which is presented by the time.'

cc. 3–5. *Cicero therefore, the persistent eager advocate of peace, so far deviated from his principles as to shrink from peace with Antony; but only because it was shameful, dangerous, and fallacious. It was shameful, because inconsistent with the decree which they had passed so recently. By voting honours to C. Caesar, Decimus Brutus, and the soldiers under their command,—by determining to send both Consuls, one at the risk of his life, to the seat of war,—and by ordering a general levy, they had practically declared that Antony was a public enemy: and this view was confirmed by the eager attention paid to warlike preparations by all classes in the city. Nor did the message to Antony, impolitic, even disgraceful as it was, bind them to treat upon his terms, since it was not so much an embassy, as a notice to yield, under penalty of destruction if he disobeyed. The Roman senators should die rather than submit to one who outdid kings and tyrants alike, both in extortion and wickedness at home, and in actual deeds of treasonable warfare in the provinces.*

l. 15. **Pacis auctor.** Cp. 2. 15, 37. The elaboration of this sentence and the frequent dependent clauses and parentheses make the thread of it difficult to follow, even with the aid of the thrice repeated subject, 'Ego ille, . . . ego igitur pacis . . . alumnus, . . . ego ille pacis . . . laudator . . . pacem esse nolo.'

l. 16. **In primis**, 'above all other men.' All good men desired peace, but none so much as Cicero.

l. 18. **In periculis propulsandis.** Cicero only twice in his life undertook a prosecution, and in both cases he might be said to be pleading the cause of his friends against their oppressors. The first was that of Verres, 70 B.C., in behalf of the Sicilians; the second that of T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, who as tribune of the commons had taken a leading part in bringing Milo to trial, 52 B.C.

l. 21. **Quantuscumque sum**, 'whatever small position may be mine;' 'quantuscumque' being used, by a μείωσις common with Cicero, for

'quantuluscumque'; cp. 5. 8, 22 'Bona, quantacumque erant;' and de Orat. 2. 28, 123 'Quantuscumque sum ad iudicandum.'

l. 23. **Periculose dico,** 'I speak at the peril of my reputation for consistency.' Muretus notices this as a remarkable instance of *προδιόρθωσις*, answering an objection before the cause of it has arisen.

l. 27. **Incredibile,** &c., 'however difficult to believe that it has come from Cicero's mouth.'

l. 32. **Silentio,** 'without your interrupting me.'

P. 110. l. 4. **Levitate,** 'caprice.' See on 2. 31, 77.

l. 6. **Non verbo, sed re.** Cp. 4. 1, 1 'Est hostis a senatu nondum verbo appellatus, sed re iam iudicatus Antonius.'

l. 8. **Meritos.** So most editors for the Vatican reading 'merito.' The passive meaning of 'meritus,' common in poetry, is found again in connexion with 'debitam,' in de Orat. 2. 50, 203 'Iracundiam neque eam iniustam sed meritam ac debitam;' ib. 3. 4, 14 'Meritam gratiam debitamque.' 'Illi' depends on 'decrevistis,' not on 'meritos.'

l. 17. **Omine.** So Halm, from one MS., following the conjecture of Ferrarius, who compares 10. 6, 14 'Brutus . . . cum sua excellentissima virtute rei publicae natus, tum fato quodam paterni maternique generis et nominis.' The other MSS. have 'homine.' For the omen see 2. 11, 26 note.

l. 25. **Meus collega**: in the augurship. At the end of the first oration Cicero mentions the general anxiety for the safety of Hirtius, who was then in bad health. To this he apparently refers in saying that the people's prayers had saved his life. The date of his departure from Rome is uncertain, but it was probably soon after the despatch of the envoys (Merivale 3. 128). From this speech (c. 2, 5; 9, 27) we learn that Pansa still remained in Rome. Hirtius was not only the friend, but the pupil of Cicero (Fam. 7. 33, 1).

P. 111. l. 6. **Meam sententiam flagitari,** 'do you not hear them calling loudly for the measures I proposed?' viz. that Antony should at once be formally declared an enemy.

l. 7. **Pridie . . . postridie** are here correlative, 'on one day,' 'on the next.' Till the 3rd of January the feeling of the senate had been on Cicero's side, but on the morning of the 4th the tide turned, and the meeting acquiesced in the veto which Salvius placed upon his motion.

l. 8. **Devoluti,** 'ye sank down,' with the implied notion of deterioration. Cp. Livy 5. 11 'Eo devolvi rem (matters had come to such a pass), ut aut patricii aut patriciorum asseclae habendi tribuni plebis sint.'

l. 9. **Legiones,** those of Antony. Of these ambassadors we know nothing.

l. 11. **Quid refert?** &c. So Halm, restoring the common punctua-

tion, instead of placing the note of interrogation after 'tamen,' according to the suggestion of Faernus. 'In spite of this distinction, the really important point is what people generally think of the measure; and they at least look on it as an embassy.'

l. 14. **Constantia, gravitas, perseverantia,** as opposed to the 'inconstantia, levitas, mobilitas' of Antony, c. 3, 9.

l. 16. **Desiderat,** 'regrets;' **caruit,** 'has been without,' under the tyranny of Caesar.

l. 20. **Depulimus,** &c., 'we drove them indeed from our walls, but that is not enough, we must wrench them from the hands of him who has usurped them.' The words 'extorquenda sunt' stand baldly, so that some editors have inserted 'sed,' but without authority. The reading of the later MSS. is 'nunc quidem extorquenda sunt,' but 'quidem' is wanted in the former clause, and weak in the latter.

l. 21. **Quod si,** &c. Mr. Forsyth says of this sentence that it 'is as fine as anything in Demosthenes—perhaps finer—if we except the adjuration in the speech on the Crown' (Life of Cicero, 2. 221, edit. 1).

l. 26. **Urbani consulatus.** His campaigns were carried on at home, against the liberty, the laws, the property of the state and people. The charges here brought against Antony have all been discussed already, in the notes to the second oration.

l. 28. **Divendidit,** 'has sold piecemeal;' cp. de Leg. Agr. 1. 3, 7 'Bona populi Romani divendere.'

l. 29. **Addixit,** 'has given over to the highest bidder;' see 2. 21, 52 note.

l. 33. **Consulem designatum**: see on 3. 15, 37.

P. 112. l. 1. **Hunc.** For this redundant use of 'hic,' after a long relative clause, see 2. 39, 101 note.

cc. 6, 7. *Secondly, with Antony (or rather with the Antonii, for Lucius, the patron of the people, the knights, and the bankers, the doughty gladiator, was no less formidable than his brother), any peace must needs be full of danger, for there could be no security against his falling into his ancient evil practices. And if danger should arise, the senate must accept the blame of it, since they had Cicero to warn them, and all orders of the people were eager to assist them in averting it.*

l. 10. **Dominabitur,** 'will play the part of tyrant;' so pro Rab. Post. 14, 39 'Dominatus est enim, inquit, Alexandreae.'

Patronus. The allusion is to an impudent inscription which L. Antonius caused to be placed on an equestrian statue of himself: Quinque et triginta tribus patrono. Cicero ridicules the assumption at length in 6. 5, 12.

l. 11. **Sua lege,** the law passed by L. Antonius, as tribune of the

commons, in the preceding year, giving to Caesar the right of nominating the Consuls for the next two years, together with half the other magistrates who were usually elected by the people. (Suet. Caes. 41.)

Magistratum. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., which Halm supposes to be a corruption for 'magistratuum comitia' or 'nominationem.' 'By virtue of which law he divided the election of the magistrates between Caesar and the people.' The use of 'magistratus' in the singular for the whole body of magistrates is hardly defensible. The other MSS. and most editors have 'magistratus.' Nipperdey (Philologus 3. 144) thinks that 'magistratum partitus est' may mean, 'shared the nomination of magistrates,' as in Tac. Ann. 1. 44 'Centurionatum egit' means 'he proceeded to the appointment of centurions.' For the general sense he compares Suet. Caes. 41 'Comitia cum populo partitus est.'

l. 15. **Praesertim cum,** &c., 'especially when he shall have given these same clients allotments of the public lands.'

l. 17. **Tribunos militares.** One of the later MSS. reads 'habuit,' but it is easily supplied from the earlier part of the argument.

l. 21. **Plane et Latine,** 'plain Latin;' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4. 1, 2 'Latine me scitote, non accusatorie loqui.'

l. 22. **Myrmillo.** See 3. 12, 31 note.

Thraecidicis, 'with the arms of a Thrax,' the usual antagonist of the myrmillo. So in 6. 5, 13 'Mylasis myrmillo Thracem iugulavit.'

l. 24. **Luculentam,** 'a serious blow.' The expression is probably taken from the slang of the arena: cp. ad Q. Fr. 3. 2, 1 'Gabinium luculente calefecerat Memmius.'

l. 25. **Familiarem,** 'his comrade;' cp. 6. l. c.

l. 26. **Animi causa,** 'to amuse himself;' cp. Fam. 7. 2, 3 'Hic simiolus animi causa me, in quem inveheretur, delegerat.'

l. 28. **Decuriabit,** 'place on the judicial bench.' See 1. 8, 19 note.

Sollicitabit agrarios, 'try to rouse those who are desirous of land;' cp. Cat. 4. 2, 4 'C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est'

Queretur expulsos, 'bemoan the lot of those who lose their lands,' to make way for the new settlers; so as to gain over desperadoes of all classes. Muretus suggests 'quaeret urbe expulsos' as the explanation of the Vatican reading 'quae retur,' but the 'expulsi' are obviously those who are deprived of their property. See on 5. 7, 20. The new settlers would be those introduced by the decree passed in consequence of the fifth oration.

l. 33. **Ad nutum,** 'to obey Antony without demur.'

P. 113. l. 3. **Involutum.** So Halm from the later MSS., and a comparison of this passage with a fragment of a letter to Octavian, ad

Caes. Iun. Epist. 1. fr. 9 'Sed quod videret nomine pacis bellum involutum fore.' The Vatican MS. has 'nouolutum' whence Muretus suggested the common reading 'obvolutum,' as in 2. 31, 77.

l. 5. **Est vestri consilii,** 'your character for prudence calls upon you.'

l. 7. **In hac custodia,** &c., 'in this post of guardianship, this watch-tower, as it were.' To 'custodia' answers 'vigilia;' to 'specula' 'prospicientia.'

l. 9. **Summo consilio.** Cp. 4. 6, 14 'Senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium.'

l. 16. **In principe civi,** 'in one who claims to be the leader of his party.' For the form 'civi' see 3. 3, 7 note.

c. 8. *And lastly, peace with Antony could not be. Mutual hatred, the people's eagerness for liberty, the siege of Mutina, and the loyalty and readiness for service which had thereby been excited, together with the influence of C. Caesar and D. Brutus, all made peace impossible.*

l. 18. **Coagmentari.** The Vatican MS. has 'coamentari,' a reading which Muretus defends, deriving the word from 'amenta, ea quibus ad ligandum utimur.' This meaning of 'amentum' however does not occur before the writings of the elder Pliny, and if 'coamentari' be the right reading, it seems more likely that it is taken from a form 'coamentum,' derived directly from 'cogo,' as 'amentum' (the impelling thong) is from 'ago.' Though several times used by Cicero (apologetically, with 'quasi' or 'quodammodo') of the combination of words, in his rhetorical treatises, the word 'coagmentari' appears to be nowhere else employed in so distinctly metaphorical a sense as here. 'I will show that peace cannot even be patched up with Antony.'

l. 23. **Age, vos,** &c., 'is this mutual hatred confined to you and him?'

l. 24. **In Gallia.** See 5. 12, 31 note.

l. 26. **Occulta,** &c. Ironical. 'They made no display, of course, of their feelings and opinions about Antony.'

l. 33. **Bis.** On the occasions of the fourth and sixth orations.

P. 114. l. 2. **Quod** here is nearly equivalent to 'whereas,' the principal clause not containing a direct antecedent to it, but only an observation referring to the antecedent. See Madv. § 398 b. Obs. 2.

l. 8. **Ut in singulis,** &c., 'that in reviewing the conduct of the several towns you nowhere feel the absence of the Roman senate:' they are all as zealous as if they were acting under the immediate influence of the senate.

l. 10. **Firmani.** From the time of the Roman conquest of Picenum, 268 B.C., Firmum (now Fermo) always proved a staunch ally of Rome,

remaining faithful even during the Social War, when it was the head-quarters of Cn. Pompeius Strabo. The Marrucini, from their admission to the Roman alliance, in 304 B.C. were also conspicuous for their general fidelity to Rome, but they joined the Marsi and Peligni in the Social War, at the close of which, with the Picenians, they were admitted to the Roman franchise.

l. 12. **Subterfugissent**, 'evaded military service.' Cp. Off. 3. 26, 97 'Ulixen insimulant tragoediae simulatione insaniae militiam subterfugisse.'

l. 16. **L. Visidio.** Orelli and other editors, apparently without MS. authority, have 'Nasidio,' identifying this otherwise unknown knight with L. Nasidius, who commanded a fleet under Pompey in 49 B.C. To this it is objected that Nasidius would not have been appointed to such an office unless he had held some magistracy, and it is unusual to apply the term 'eques' to any one who had even been quaestor.

l. 24. **Leniet**, sc. 'se provinciae leniet,' an apparently unparalleled construction of 'lenio,' due to the influence of its combination with 'placo,' which, with so closely cognate a meaning, is not unusual with this construction; cp. Fam. 13. 1, 3 'Uti te sibi placarem.' 'Will he now bring himself to look with kindly and gentle feelings on the province of Gaul?'

c. 9. *What remained was therefore to be firm and ready. If Antony gave way to all the orders of the senate, then deliberation might be possible and safe, but if he failed in any one particular, the only course in that case was to crush him, and thus free the Roman people from all danger and all fear for ever.*

P. 115. l. 1. **Omnia fecerit**, &c., 'he must have submitted to us in all that we have forbidden or commanded him to do, before he can claim a hearing for his requests.'

l. 5. **Exercitum**, &c. In 6. 3, 5 Cicero tells the people that 'paulo ante decretum est ut (Antonius) exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliae, educeret, dum ne propius urbem Romam CC milia admoveret.' This would confine him within limits of about 20 miles, the Rubicon being about 220 miles from Rome.

l. 8. **Erit integra**, 'the question will be open for deliberation.'

l. 11. **Agitur**, 'is at stake.'

l. 17. **Non eges**, &c., although, that is, you are rather fitted for administering than receiving such advice.

l. 19. **Apparatum**, not merely the forces which he had collected from the levy, as Manutius thinks, but all his other resources, in the firmness of the senate, the zeal of the knights, and the eagerness of the people.

l. 24. **Quibus de rebus**: the Appian way, and the Mint, the subjects of the Consul's motion; see c. 1, 1.

P. Servilio: probably P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus the younger, who was one of the chief supporters of the aristocratical party, and afterwards chosen as one of the envoys for the proposed second embassy to Antony. The words with which Cicero concludes this oration are probably the usual formula for giving a vote without embodying in it a motion, and so come in appropriately at the close of a speech which is absolutely irrelevant to the matter before the Senate.

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(The first figure refers to the Oration, the second to the smaller subdivision into sections.)

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